

American History

1918-19 Killer
Flu Epidemic

First Ascent of
Mount Rainier

Crossing the
Color Line

Born-Again
Biblical Booster

Born in the USA



**Birthright citizenship:
Contentious from the start**

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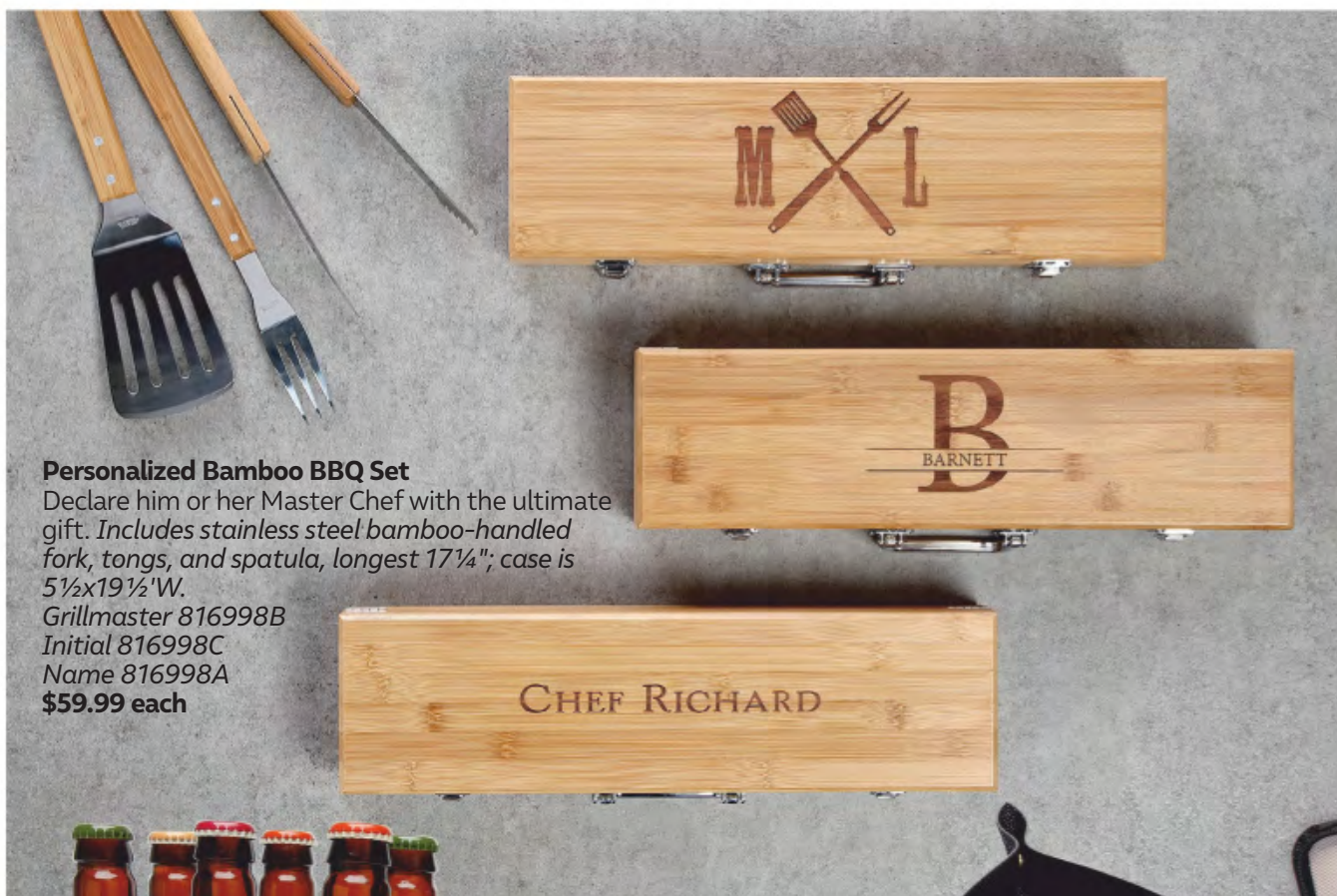
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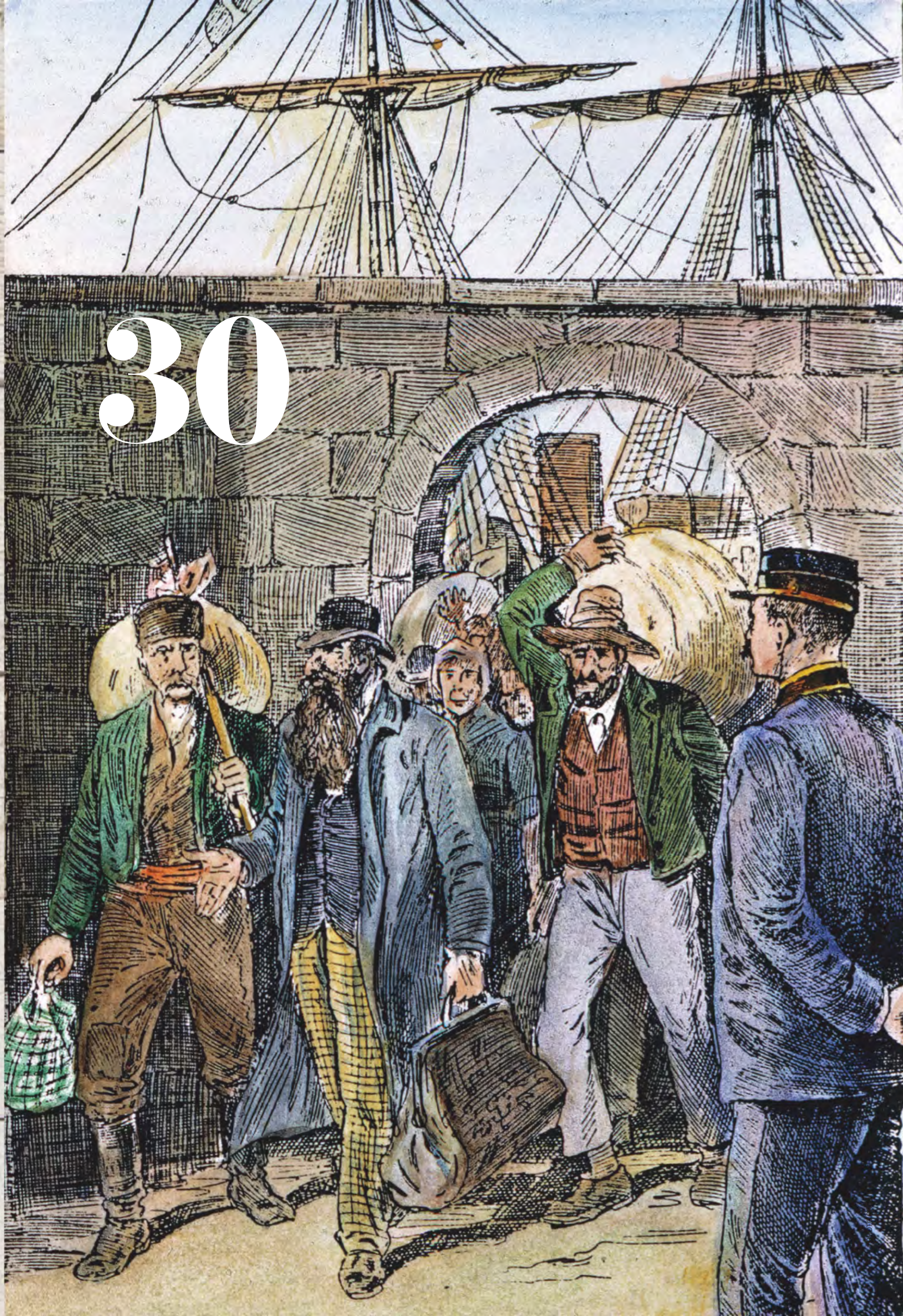
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ON THE COVER: Birthright citizenship has been a flash point topic since soon after the Civil War

American History

June 2019

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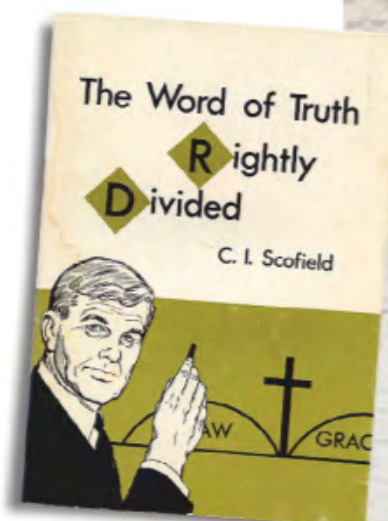
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To some, sunglasses are a fashion accessory...

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The sun rises and sets at peak travel periods, during the early morning and afternoon rush hours and many drivers find themselves temporarily blinded while driving directly into the glare of the sun. Deadly accidents are regularly caused by such blinding glare with danger arising from reflected light off another vehicle, the pavement, or even from waxed and oily windshields that can make matters worse. Early morning dew can exacerbate this situation. Yet, motorists struggle on despite being blinded by the sun's glare that can cause countless accidents every year.

Not all sunglasses are created equal. Protecting your eyes is serious business. With all the fancy fashion frames out there it can be easy to overlook what really matters—the lenses. So we did our research and looked to the very best in optic innovation and technology.

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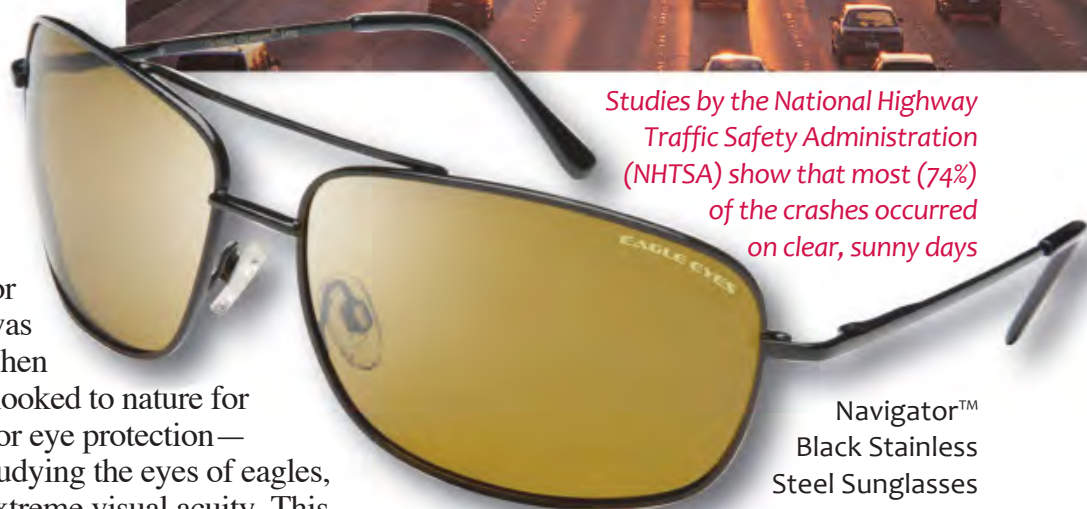
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Before the Deluge
Indian village in what
is now Florida included
cultivated lands.

Little Ice Age Linked to Die-Off in the Americas

cores, the team mapped an extensive depopulation in the New World caused by diseases from Europe such as smallpox, measles, influenza, yellow, malaria, diphtheria, and typhus. The first documented epidemic in Mexico occurred in 1517. Others followed, often in waves reaching into the interior. The worst die-offs were in Mexico. Within a century, the authors estimate, 95 percent of the New World's populace had died. The combined impact far surpassed those of individual pathogens, such as the bubonic plague that caused the Black Death in Europe in the 14th century. Warfare and slavery, the report notes, compounded the deaths. The die-off left untended what had been extensively cultivated lands, ranging from fields terraced by the Inca to croplands in Central and North America to forest gardens in the Amazon. Forests and grassland vigorously reclaimed an estimated one percent of the total landmass of the Americas. This vegetative comeback took up atmospheric carbon dioxide, a climate-warming gas, helping to explain the mysterious dip in global temperature.

The historical significance lies in a reset of the Anthropocene, referring to the age in which humans began making observable impacts on the global atmosphere and environment.

According to the authors: "These changes show that human actions had global impacts on the Earth system in the centuries prior to the Industrial Revolution. Our results also show that this aspect of the Columbian Exchange—the globalization of diseases—had global impacts on the Earth system, key evidence in the calls for the drop in atmospheric CO₂ at 1610 CE [Christian Era] to mark the onset of the Anthropocene epoch."

The "Great Dying"—the deaths 1500-1600 of more than 55 million New World natives—led to the Little Ice Age, an anomalous drop in global temperature 1570 to 1694 known as the Little Ice Age. That is the conclusion of scientists from the University College London and the University of Leeds. During roughly the same era, the researchers write in the March 2019 *Quaternary Science Reviews*, less carbon dioxide concentrated in the air. This coincided with the only period in the past 2,000 years that saw the global temperature drop. Reviewing population estimates, land use studies, and atmospheric carbon dioxide recorded in Antarctic ice

Pandemic Affected Flu Survivors' Descendants

The 1918 influenza pandemic cast a long shadow, apparently affecting not only the infected but descendants. Three researchers at the National Bureau of Economic Research found reduced years of schooling in a subsequent generation—born to women exposed to the virus in utero in 1918—and that generation's children, the third. The study tallied 2.4 months less schooling in the second generation and 1.7 months less schooling in the third. Researchers suggest socioeconomics, altered gene expression, or an interaction of environment and inherited biology explain the differences (see "Really Truly Going Viral," p. 14). Studies have found negative impacts on health and education in the second generation; this is the first to suggest impacts in the third. The study was based the 1957 Wisconsin Longitudinal Survey, collected from Wisconsin high school graduates.



Fighting Flu
Volunteers in 1918 ready dressings for use in treatment.

First Bible Published in North America

In 1663, North America got its first Bible—in Wômpanâak, the language of the Wampanoag, native residents of Massachusetts woodlands and offshore islands like Nantucket. The volume was part of Christian outreach by Peter Folger and Thomas Mayhew, Jr., the American Philosophical Society, where the Bible is held, reports. British-born Folger was 18 when he arrived with his father at Watertown, Massachusetts, in 1635. Endowed with skills from surveying to writing verse, Folger surveyed Nantucket and learned the local language. He and collaborators created an alphabet, translating passages and then the Bible itself. In 1663, Harvard's Indian College printed several thousand copies of

Up-Biblum. Folger moved to Nantucket with wife Mary Morell; he had spent nine years working to earn the money to buy her out of indenture. Both European colonists and Native Americans lived on Nantucket. Folger had such a good relationships that locals called him the "white-chief's old young-man."

The couple had eight children. The last, Abiah, became the mother of Benjamin Franklin.



Restoring Freedmen's Homes

Preservation North Carolina will acquire and restore two historic residences in a vanishing freedmen's village for use as that group's headquarters. The houses are two of the few remaining in Oberlin, a Raleigh neighborhood named for the abolitionist Ohio town where founder James Harris went to college. The 1890s-era structures will be linked by a deck and a basement. The 1,000-resident neighborhood was created in 1866 on plantation lands formerly held by Duncan Cameron. Cameron's holdings of 1,900 slaves, including James Harris, —reportedly made him one of North Carolina's largest slaveholders.

Ugly Times
Said to store
ammunition, Mount
Zion Baptist Church
burns on June 1, 1921.



Tulsa Terror

scrubbed from the Oklahoma city's history, the tragedy is to be commemorated with installations around Tulsa funded by Bloomberg Philanthropies. The temporary works will recall the destruction of the “Black Wall Street” in Greenwood, then the country’s most prosperous black community. The episode began with a claim that a black man assaulted a white woman. The turnout to defend the accused from lynching escalated into a two-day white rampage, including reports of private pilots flinging turpentine bombs. In an unpublished memoir, witness Buck Colbert Franklin, lawyer and father of historian John Hope Franklin, recalls, “Lurid flames roared and belched and licked their forked tongues into the air. Smoke ascended the sky in thick, black volumes and amid it all, the planes—now a dozen or more in number—still hummed and darted here and there with the agility of natural birds of the air. The side-walks were literally covered with burning turpentine balls. I knew all too well where they came from, and I knew all too well why every burning building first caught from the top. I paused and waited for an opportune time to escape. ‘Where oh where is our splendid fire department with its half dozen stations?’ I asked myself. ‘Is the city in conspiracy with the mob?’” According to a 2016 *Smithsonian Magazine* article, the destruction extended more than 35 blocks and included more than 1,200 homes. White authorities seized and held more than 6,000 black Tulsans.

In 1921, a clash between white and black Tulsans escalated into a battle that ended after more than 100 deaths and declaration of martial law. Estimates of the death toll reach 300, mostly blacks; the true tally may never be known. Long



Goodwill Hunting

Finding a framed newspaper dated December 28, 1774, staff at a Goodwill in Woodbury, New Jersey, recognized the memento as historic, and on January 19, 2019, Goodwill Industries transferred the item to the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. The paper features a cartoon designed by Benjamin Franklin showing the iconic sliced snake and the motto “Unite or Die.” The newspaper was printed two months after the First Continental Congress, whose delegates signed a resolution to boycott British goods starting in December 1774. The battle at Lexington and Concord between British troops and American rebels occurred on April 19, 1775.



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New Old Name

A 13,000-foot crag in eastern Nevada's Great Basin National Park now called Jeff Davis, left, likely will regain Shoshone name *Doso Doyabi*, "white mountain." The Nevada Board of Geographic Names made the recommendation in January to the U.S. Board on Geographic Names, supported by local Shoshone.



Pueblo Prevails

Artworks of the Acoma of Sky City—a

1,000-year-old village atop a bluff west of Albuquerque, New Mexico—have been returned to the tribe, the Associated Press reports. For years, tribal officials have been seeking return of items held at auction houses, museums, and art galleries worldwide. A sacred shield in Paris has been a particular focus. While that item has not yet been returned, the Acoma are celebrating the return of several items from a gallery in Montana. A September Government Accountability Office report described the challenge: no federal law regulates export of tribal cultural items, complicating the task of proving they were obtained illegally. To gauge the problem, the agency surveyed auctions 2012-17. Items from the American Southwest overwhelmingly dominated sales of Native American objects in overseas auctions.

TOP BID

Deadline Artist **\$362,500**

A first edition lithograph of Paul Revere's depiction of the Boston Massacre sold at Sotheby's for nearly twice the estimated price. Revere, an engraver before becoming a silversmith, published prints of the March 5, 1770, battle a week ahead of competitors. Goaded by taunts from locals, British troops had fired upon a crowd. Among the dead—and shown lying on the street—was African American stevedore Crispus Attucks, one of the first two casualties of the American Revolution. Titled "The Bloody Massacre," the print includes a verse that opens "Unhappy Boston, see thy sons deplore, thy hallow'd walks besmeared with guiltless gore."



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Brown



Connor

Scott

Jessica Wambach Brown (“Man vs. Mountain,” p. 40) writes on a wide range of topics from Kalispell, Montana. The U.S. Army Historical Foundation has chosen Brown’s most recent article, “Great War in the Big Woods” (December 2018), as a finalist in the foundation’s 2018 Distinguished Article competition.

Retired prosecutor **Joseph Connor** (“Born in the USA,” p. 30) writes about historical topics with resonant current-day connections. His most recent article was “High Crimes” (February 2019).

Sarah Richardson (“Passing Fancy,” p. 50) is senior editor of *American History*.

Archaeologist **Stuart D. Scott** PhD (“Hard Labor,” p. 58) is retired from a professorship at the State University of New York at Buffalo. A former Fulbright scholar, he has written extensively on fieldwork in Latin America and the South Pacific, including the 1837 Rebellion narrative, *To the Outskirts of Habitable Creation* (iUniverse, 2013). He writes in Tucson, Arizona.

Letters



On the Money

Thanks for a very fine publication; I enjoyed your article about Elizabeth Powel. William Bingham, to whom Mrs. Powel sold her house (“Washington Danced Here,” April 2019), was not only a neighbor but a relative through his marriage to Anne Willing, daughter of Eliza’s brother Thomas and well known in numismatic circles. Family lore has it that Anne’s was the face of Liberty gracing American silver and copper coins 1795-1808. As the story goes, Anne posed for Gilbert Stuart, from which portrait engraver Robert Scot fashioned the “Draped Bust” of Liberty, above. No contemporaneous accounts confirm the legend, but it’s nice to imagine that this was the face of Eliza’s niece.

David W. Lange, research director
Numismatic Guaranty Corporation
Sarasota, Florida

Maine Squeeze

If, as a result of the U.S. Supreme Court’s 1963 decision in *Gideon v. Wainwright*, every other state has public defenders (“Trumpeting Change,” February 2019), what’s the hitch in Maine’s legal getalong?

Barbara J. Thomas

Houston Texas

The editor replies: *Rather than employ public defenders, the state of Maine through its Commission on Indigent Legal Services hires private attorneys at \$60 per hour to provide representation.*

Resettlement House

Members of my family always spoke highly of Hull House (“Secular Saint Scorned,” April 2019). My mother, Eva Katz, her sister Ita, and their brothers Abraham and Gregory, who arrived around 1925 from Ekaterinaslav, Ukraine, in the Soviet Union, took English and civics courses at Hull. The Katzes came in through Ellis Island. Their father, Aaron, had been a prosperous baker in Ekaterinaslav. In 1923 he and Abraham fled, winding up in Chicago. His wife, Anna—my grandmother—followed in 1925 with Eva, Gregory, and three much younger children—Morris, Reuben, and Morton. Ita had to remain behind in Hamburg, Germany, until she, too, was able to get to Chicago.

Robert Bermant

Thousand Oaks, California



Class Act

Eva Katz, on floor right, graduated from the Hull House school in 1925 with sister Ita, in chair at far left, and brothers Abraham, in chair far right, and Gregory, third row, third from left. Gregory Katz wed teacher Emma Leavitt, in third chair from left.

EXPEDITION

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*Battle of Camp Wildcat
Reenactment Oct. 18-20, 2019*

The Battle of Camp Wildcat was part of the KY Confederate Offensive campaign. It was fought in Laurel County, KY on October 21, 1861. It was one of the early engagements of the American Civil War and is considered one of the very first Union victories. It was also the second engagement of troops in the Commonwealth of Kentucky. The battle was monumental—many were killed, wounded, or reported missing after the battle was over.

The battlefield still remains on Old Wilderness Road, about nine miles northwest of London, KY.

It contains a pavilion, walking trails, and the original trenches. There are also interpretive signs with information about the site. October 18-20, 2019 marks the date for the Camp Wildcat Civil War Reenactment. This event includes live reenactments, living history camps, military and medical demonstrations, a ladies tea, a church service, and a memorial service at the battlefield. In addition to the various demonstrations, there is also a chance to talk to “President Lincoln” and “General Lee,” a swap meet, and various raffle drawings.

(For more information on the reenactment, visit www.wildcatreenactment.org)



Camp Wildcat is listed on the National Register of Historic Places and is the site for the reenactment each year. The location along the Old Wilderness Road makes it part of the Boone Trace Corridor.

Boone Trace is the trail blazed by Daniel Boone and his men in 1775. The trail led from North Carolina to the Cumberland Gap and then through Kentucky into Boonesborough. Boone Trace was traveled by thousands of settlers in the years that followed and was instrumental in expansion of the state, as well as lands to the West.

To plan your visit to London, KY, see www.LaurelKyTourism.com.

Sticking It
Dr. William Lukash
vaccinates President
Ford against swine
flu, October 14, 1976.



REALLY TRULY GOING VIRAL

BY NANCY TAPPAN



Bad Bug

Influenza viruses are shapeshifters that confound scientists no less than they do the body's defenses, making them tough opponents in the fight to maintain the public health, Brown explains.

Influenza is usually a mild seasonal disease, but in 1918-19 a strain of influenza that may have originated in the United States killed tens of millions. In *Influenza: The Hundred Year Hunt to Cure the Deadliest Disease in History* (Touchstone, 2018), Jeremy Brown, MD, an emergency physician and director of the Office of Emergency Care Research at the National Institutes of Health, explains that pandemic and discusses what might prevent a reprise.

Why was 1918-19 so bad? The virus was so different from previous influenza viruses, victims' immune systems couldn't recognize it and fight it. Additionally, we believe that some patients' immune systems overreacted to the virus and attacked the body's own healthy lung cells. This caused severe lung damage and made victims vulnerable to a secondary bacterial pneumonia which was likely the real killer. In 1918, there were no antibiotics to treat these bacterial infections. The virus multiplied rapidly in the crowded living conditions of the

time, and unprecedented numbers of young soldiers were living in cramped barracks and traveling in ships' holds on their way to Europe. Within months, the pandemic had gone all over the world.

Where did the pandemic originate? The 1918 virus originated in birds, then jumped into an intermediary host, probably pigs, and then to humans. Haskell County in western Kansas may have been ground zero around January 1918. Army recruits from there mustered at Camp Funston near Manhattan, Kansas, 300 miles east. Sickness broke out at Funston in March 1918. Then the disease spread from camp to camp before breaking out into the civilian population in the United States and Europe. Pandemic influenza had two waves. The first was less severe and ended around June 1918. But the virus returned in October and hit every continent except Antarctica. Some experts, trying to explain the rapidity of the disease's spread, believe a less virulent bird

jumped to humans in France in 1916 and had two years to spread before mutating into its deadly form. Still others believe the second wave started in June 1918 in South China, where the new virus may have mutated in domestic fowl and infected people, including the 140,000 Chinese workers brought to France during the Great War to dig trenches and clear battlefields.

The pandemic burned itself out. Why? The most likely explanation is that eventually everyone who could be infected had either died or recovered. People who were unaffected or had mild cases either had strong immune systems or had been exposed previously, possibly to a similar flu strain that caused a large outbreak in 1898. The 1918 virus may have killed many young soldiers because they were born after that 1898 epidemic and so did not develop immunity.

Explain the hunt for the “dead” 1918 virus. In 1951, a virologist’s chance remark about the possibility that the 1918 virus might have survived in bodies buried in permafrost intrigued Johan Hultin, a graduate student at the University of Iowa. Hultin traveled to Brevig Mission, a remote Inuit village in Alaska, seeking bodies of flu victims that had remained frozen since burial. Although he found the lung samples he was looking for, Hultin was never able to grow the flu virus from them. Then in the early 1990s, Jeffrey Taubenberger, a pathologist at the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology, realized that the 1918 virus might be found in tissue samples preserved from the autopsies of soldiers who had died in the pandemic. Taubenberger finally identified a sample of the virus on a slide of lung tissue from Army Private Roscoe Vaughan, and he published his breakthrough in 1997. Johan Hultin, then 72, decided to return to Alaska some 50 years after his failed expedition there. At Brevig Mission, Hultin found frozen specimens. He mailed them to Taubenberger, who finally had enough samples to reconstruct the entire genome of the 1918 virus.

Why was it important to resurrect the 1918 virus? Although we discovered the genetic makeup and shape of the 1918 virus, that does not tell us why the virus was so lethal. To know that, you need to watch it infect animals; ferrets and guinea pigs are used. Only through these experiments with the resurrected virus can scientists see it in action, understand how it works, and hopefully find a cure.

Explain the 1976 swine flu outbreak. That year, soldiers at Fort Dix in New Jersey came down with an unknown flu strain. One man died. The Centers for Disease Control identified the 1976 flu strain as a descendant of the 1918 virus and believed that the virus had jumped to humans from pigs. None of the sick soldiers had had contact with swine. Public health officials worried that this flu could spread like the 1918 virus. A vaccine was quickly formulated, and the CDC recommended that all Americans be inoculated. President Gerald Ford accepted the recommendation but drug companies, worried about side effects, pressed the government to indemnify them against lawsuits. Sure enough, reports came in that right after vaccination some people had become ill or had a heart attack or stroke.

However, statistically, every day a number of people are going to have a heart attack whether they’ve had a flu vaccination or not. People connected dots that were not there. The vaccine program was widely criticized and the CDC’s head was forced out.

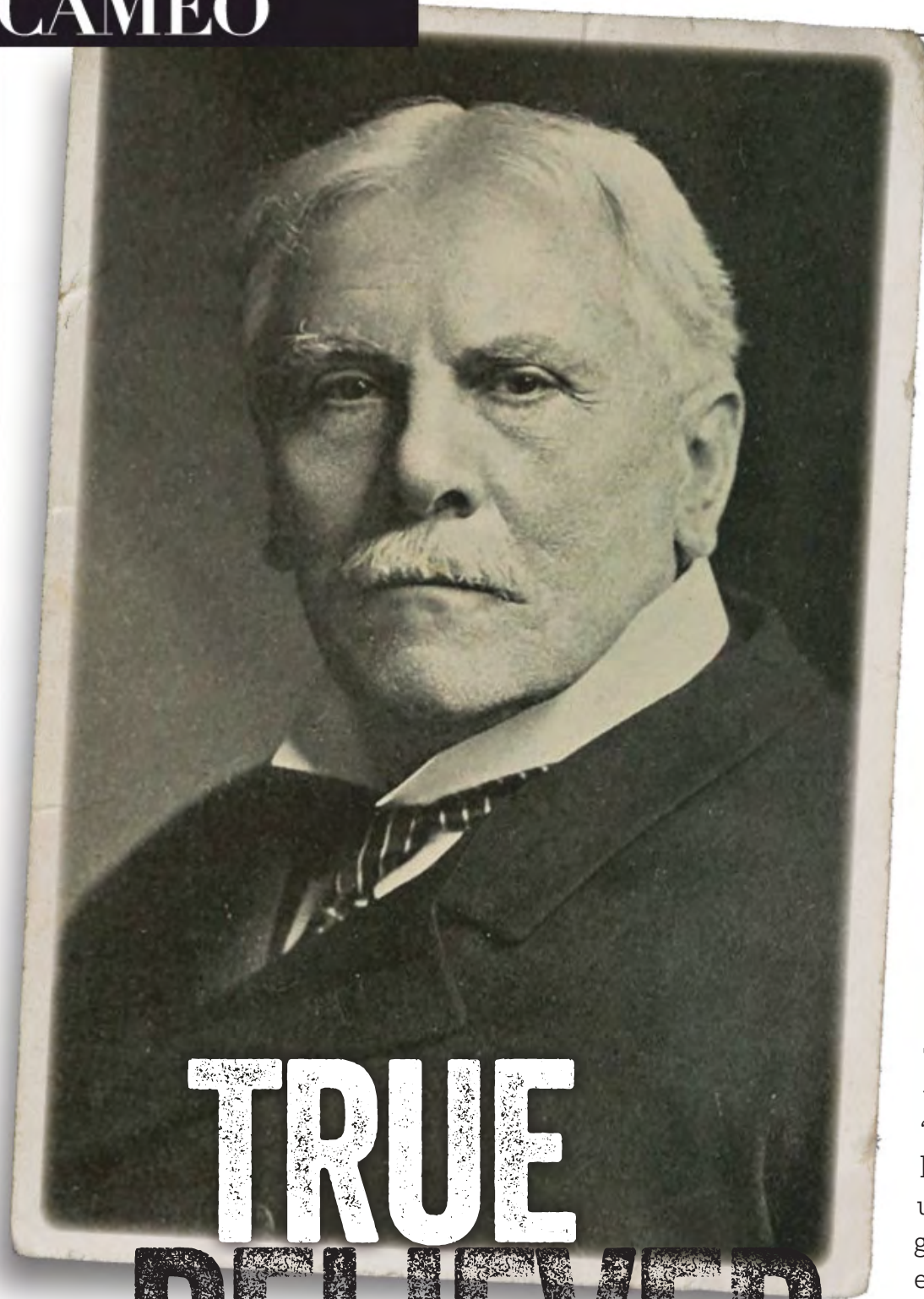
Annual flu shot—yes or no? Public health officials recommend that every year all Americans over age six months get a flu vaccine. Influenza, however, is a shapeshifter. It mutates quickly into strains the body doesn’t recognize. In a good year, if scientists have projected correctly about which strains will be circulating that season, the vaccine is only 50 percent effective. The 2017-18 vaccine was 20 percent to 40 percent effective. In the United Kingdom and much of Europe, the vaccine is only recommended for the very young, the elderly, pregnant women, and those with weakened immune systems or chronic disease.



Behind the Mask
During the 1918 flu pandemic an American typist takes no chances.

Can scientists prevent another 1918?

Pessimists say it is only a matter of time before another pandemic occurs. We need to work hard at prevention and be ready to treat a lot of sick people. Optimists say the chances of another 1918 are very small. There have been other pandemics but none remotely close to 1918 in magnitude. Today we have antibiotics to cure secondary bacterial pneumonias and we have vaccines that are at least somewhat effective. But both sides agree that to prevent another influenza catastrophe, we need to study the 1918 virus, learn how it caused its damage and how it spread so quickly. ★



TRUE BELIEVER

BY SARAH RICHARDSON

By age 36, Cyrus Ingerson Scofield had failed magnificently. Accused of forgery and embezzlement, he had slipped into an alcohol-soaked despair. In 1879, he quit drinking, embraced Jesus Christ, and devoted himself to evangelism—spreading the word about the importance of personal salvation and biblical authority. Three decades later, he created the Scofield Reference Bible, sometimes cited as a plinth of Protestant fundamentalism. Conforming to a theological view known as pre-millennial dispensationalism, Scofield's Bible presents history as epochs governed by divine covenants. In the last epochs, for example, to fulfill God's plan, Jews must return to the Holy Land. Some scholars cite the Scofield Bible as a factor that helped forged longstanding support among American evangelicals for the nation of Israel.

Scofield's life began in trauma: his mother died delivering him in 1843 in Tecumseh, Michigan. He was raised by his father and stepmother, and

Read All About It—Yourself

Cyrus Scofield believed it incumbent on each Christian to share the Bible.

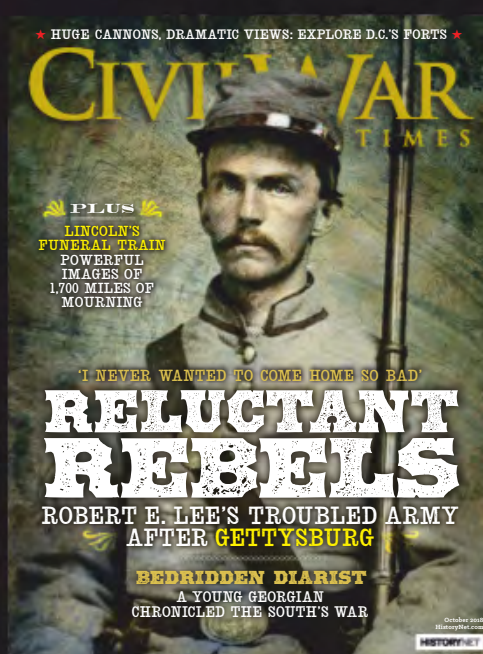
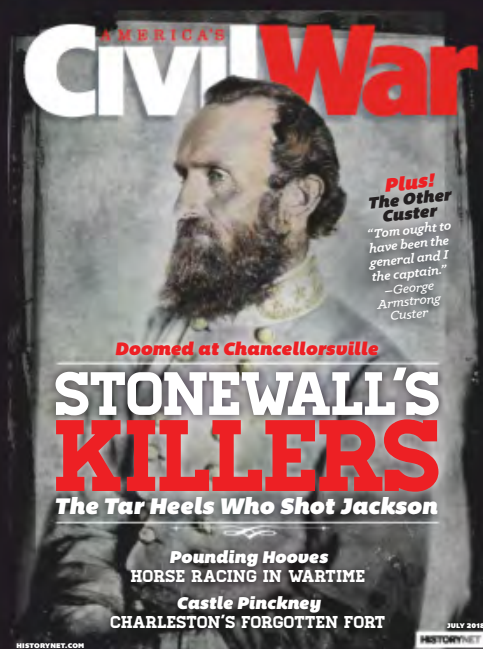
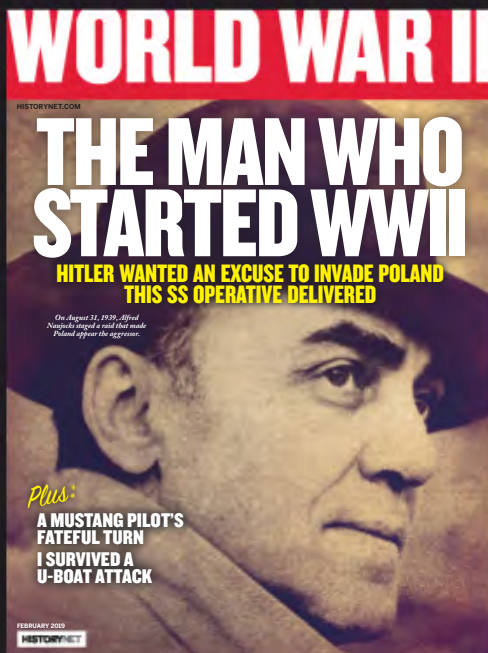
when she too died, he moved at age 16 to Lebanon, Tennessee, to join his older sisters. When the Civil War came, he enlisted in the Confederate Army, serving at Seven Pines and Antietam. He married a Catholic and in St. Louis went to work for her wealthy fur-trading family, acquiring legal skills. The couple had two children, and by 1869 Scofield was working in Atchison, Kansas. In 1871 he was elected to the Kansas legislature. In 1873, President Ulysses S. Grant named him U.S. attorney general of the District of Kansas, but within six months political intrigue regarding vote buying forced his resignation. In 1878, he was jailed on charges of check forgery.

Battling the bottle, Scofield left Atchison for St. Louis, where clergymen took him in hand, support that led in 1880 to a local preaching license. In 1882 his sermonizing and outreach won him a chance as a pastor at the First Congregational Church in Dallas, Texas. In 1883, he and his long-estranged wife divorced. Scofield never mentioned that “mixed” marriage to his new community, and later excluded his two daughters from that union in his will. In 1884 he married a congregant. He built First Congregational's enrollment from 12 to 500 members.

In 1886, Dwight Moody, an enterprising evangelist and publisher, invited Scofield to address a biblical conference in Northfield, Massachusetts. The focus was a return to basics: the authority of Scripture, acceptance of Jesus Christ as savior, and the inevitability of a period of earthly tribulation preceding the Second Coming.

This orientation and its promise of unwavering truth resonated in the Civil War's aftermath, with its social, political, and economic upheavals. Modernity—along with the spread of evolutionary theory presented by English naturalist Charles Darwin—was shaking pillars of traditional authority. Reacting to historiographical and scientific trends that undercut the notion of the Bible as God's unerring word, mainstream Protestant denominations had begun to read the Gospels in a forward-looking way, positing that devotion to Christ's teachings leads to a better, more just world. Scofield and

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colleagues promoted a simpler view. Rather than read the Bible through the lens of historical events, they applied the lens of Scripture to history, biblically dividing all of history into seven epochs. “The past is seen to fall into periods,” he wrote. “The clear perception of this doctrine of the Ages... has the same relation to the right understanding of the Scriptures that correct outline work has to map making.”

Premillennial dispensationalists such as Scofield forecast a period of tribulation and a millennium when Jesus Christ returned to earth before the final judgment. A dispensation is “a period of time during which man is tested in respect of obedience to some specific revelation of the will of God,” he said. Of seven dispensations in the biblical construct, the sixth outlined Jews’ return to Israel. The seventh and final dispensation governed the unfolding of the millennium and the end of time. Scofield also highlighted the concept of the Rapture, the ascent to heaven by Christian believers, in his notes about Thessalonians 4:17.

Feeling End Times—the storied period of tribulation—were near, Scofield wanted to save others. Regarding the Bible as a manual for interpreting experience, he collected notes about biblical text, in 1888 producing *Rightly Divided the Word of Truth*—the title is from II Timothy 2:15—explaining how biblical prophecies foretell history and salvation. The booklet helped readers interpret Scripture on their own, eliminating the need for expertise. Disciples, not denominations, was Scofield’s goal, along with immediate individual salvation rather than church building.

In 1890 Scofield established the Central American Mission and in 1895 a correspondence Bible course enrolling 10,000 students intent on becoming pastors. By 1905 he had resigned from his congregation to work on a reference Bible. With eight consulting scholars, he created the first study Bible with title headings, explanations on each page, and a novel system of references. Scofield borrowed chronologies from 17th century Irish archbishop James Ussher. The book of Genesis, for example, is said to span 2,315 years; Deuteronomy, 40. In 1909 Oxford University Press published the work, advertised as “a new system of connected topical references [in which] all the greater truths of the divine revelation are so traced through the entire Bible, from the place of first mention to the last, that the reader may for himself follow the gradual unfolding of these.”

In 1913 Scofield helped found the Philadelphia School of the Bible, now Cairn University. Philanthropist Charles Huston of Lukens Steel underwrote the project. The next year came World War I—the Great Tribulation, some said.

Three years and 40 million casualties later, on December 30, 1917, in British General Edmund Allenby’s conquest of Palestine, devout dispensationalists saw a portent of the prophesied return of Jews to Israel. “Now for the first time, we have a real prophetic sign,” Scofield wrote to a friend.

However, no Rapture ensued. Peace undermined the End Times message, creating an opening for Indiana Baptist and noted anti-evolutionist William Bell Riley, who argued ardently in 1918 for a more organized

evangelical approach. Riley deemphasized the End Times and stressed nurturing Christian communities through missionary work and church building.

Scofield opposed such centralization. Historian Richard Kent Evan says that Riley’s 1919 break with Scofield on this point and Riley’s establishment of the World Conference on Christian Fundamentals birthed establishment fundamentalism in the United States.

Scofield’s death in 1921 did not end the vogue for reading current events biblically. For some, Israel’s 1948 founding echoed prophecy. In 1967 a team lightly revised the Scofield Bible; that year, in another seeming alignment with prophecy, Israel won a war with Arab neighbors. Since then evangelical Christians have enthusiastically supported American politicians backing Israel. A 2018 survey of white evangelicals showed that 71 percent supported Donald Trump, whose administration’s 2018 decision to move the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem further broadcasts an American tie to the Jews’ Holy City.

Selling tens of millions of copies, the Scofield Bible remains popular, thanks in part, scholar Brendan Pietsch says, to worldly touches by Oxford’s publisher, Henry Frowde. The Scofield Reference Bible was only one product of a vibrant enterprise that printed Bibles on Oxford India paper—lightweight, sturdy sheets of cotton and hemp since replaced by other acid-free papers.

Cyrus Scofield is not a household name, but his End Times theory resonates with American evangelicals. Friend and disciple Lewis Sperry Chafer founded and ran Dallas Theological Seminary 1924-52. In 1970 a student of Chafer’s, Hal Lindsey, wrote *Late Great Planet Earth*, a best-seller about the End Times, fictionalized in a 1979 movie. A 1995 Rapture-centered novel by evangelical pastor Timothy

LaHaye begat the 2014 movie *Left Behind*. These works use popular forms to portray the End Times, but Scofield noted scripture’s ambiguity on the issue. Of the Book of Revelation, he wrote, “Doubtless much of which is designedly obscure to us will be clear to those for whom it is written as the time approaches.” ★



The Scofield Effect

First Congregational Church in Dallas, Texas, saw its enrollment rise from 12 to 500.

GOYAHKLA, THE ORIGINAL NAME OF APACHE LEADER GERONIMO, TRANSLATES AS...

“He who shouts,”
“The one who yawns,”
“Soaring eagle,” or
“He with broad
shoulders”?

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ANSWER: “THE ONE WHO YAWNS.”
AS LEGEND HAS IT, GOYAHKLA
EARNED THE MONIKER “GERONIMO”
AS A YOUNG RAIDER WHEN MEXICAN
SOLDIERS HE TERRORIZED INVOKED
THE CATHOLIC SAINT JEROME.





REVELING WRECK

BY PETER CARLSON



Baseball Beat

Told his St. Louis Browns were better musicians than athletes, Veeck sent a quartet with Satchel Paige on snare drum out to home plate to serenade fans.

He smoked four packs a day, drank a case of beer a day, read a book a day. He hobbled on a wooden leg—the result of a World War II wound—but loved to dance exuberantly. He refused to wear ties and preferred a cheap seat in the bleachers, even when he owned the stadium. He was baseball's resident intellectual and most gleefully vulgar self-promoter. A cunning capitalist who owned three big-league teams, he voted for perennial Socialist presidential candidate Norman Thomas—even after Thomas died. "I'd rather vote for a dead man with class than two live bums," he explained.

His name was Bill Veeck—Veeck As in Wreck, he titled his first memoir. In a second memoir, *The Hustler's Handbook*, he offered a winking self-description: "A hustler travels by magic carpet and says (shouts, cries, coos), 'Come fly with me.'"

Born in 1914, Veeck grew up in baseball. His father was president of the Chicago Cubs and Bill spent his childhood at Wrigley Field,

studying the game and the business. When Veeck senior died in 1933, the Cubs hired his son as an office boy. Seething with ideas—he designed the Wrigley scoreboard and suggested planting the now-famous ivy on the outfield wall—he was promoted to treasurer. But he wanted his own team and in 1941 he bought one—the bankrupt, last-place minor-league Milwaukee Brewers. He later owned the Cleveland Indians (1946-49), the St. Louis Browns (1951-53), and the Chicago White Sox (1959-61, 1975-80). He took two teams to the World Series but earned fame not for winning but for outrageous stunts. Sportswriters dubbed him "the Barnum of Baseball."

Veeck put blackboards in stadium bathrooms to encourage graffiti. He presented umpires with bouquets of rotting vegetables while the PA system blared "Three Blind Mice." To punctuate a doubleheader, he staged a full-blown circus—with acrobats, sword swallows, and nine elephants. He invented

the exploding scoreboard, which celebrated home-team home runs by detonating fireworks, blasting sirens, flashing strobe lights, and playing the “William Tell Overture.” He presented randomly chosen fans with surreal swag—a stepladder, a greased pig, a thousand silver dollars frozen into a block of ice—and watched onlookers laugh as the “lucky” winners struggled to haul the loot to their seats.

Veeck gave striking steelworkers free tickets. One Mother’s Day, he bestowed an orchid on any woman producing a picture of her kids. He staged special nights for cabbies, teachers, transit workers—so many that a wag named Joe Earley wrote a funny letter to a newspaper demanding “Joe Earley Night.” Veeck obliged, spotlighting Earley and presenting him with an “early American” house and an auto—a one-holer and a rattletrap Model T. Then he unveiled a brand-new Ford convertible as the crowd cheered.

Veeck’s most famous stunt promoted the St. Louis Browns, 1951’s most inept team. He hired 3’7”, 65-lb. Eddie Gaedel, dressed him in a uniform numbered “1/8” and sent him up to pinch-hit against the Tigers. Gaedel crouched, creating a cigarette-sized strike zone. He walked on four pitches and skipped to first, where a pinch runner took over. “I felt like Babe Ruth out there,” he said. The next day, major league baseball banned dwarfs while Veeck basked in publicity, telling reporters that while his tombstone would probably read, “He Sent a Midget Up to Bat,” he’d prefer “He Helped the Little Man.”

But Veeck was more than a shameless showman. In 1942—five years before Jackie Robinson integrated the majors by joining the Brooklyn Dodgers—Veeck, who thought a country fighting fascism would have to embrace equality, attempted to buy the struggling Philadelphia Phillies and staff the team with Negro League stars. “I’m going to put a whole black team on the field,” he said. He didn’t. Baseball commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis vetoed the deal.

In 1947, three months after Robinson’s debut as a Dodger, Veeck signed Larry Doby for his Cleveland Indians, integrating the American League. A year later, Veeck hired pitcher Leroy “Satchel” Paige, 42, legendary for his 21-year career on segregated teams and in Cuba. The *Sporting News* called that a cheap stunt: “If Paige were white, he would not have drawn a second thought from Veeck.”

“If Satch were white, he would have been in the majors 25 years ago,” Veeck fired back. He got the last laugh. Paige pitched brilliantly—and the Indians won the ’48 World Series.

In 1959, Veeck went to the Series again, this time as owner of the White Sox, who lost to the Dodgers in six. Two years later, plagued by horrendous headaches, he sold the team. Doctors diagnosed a brain tumor. Veeck moved to Maryland’s Eastern Shore to spend his final days with his wife and kids.

But Veeck didn’t have a tumor. He recovered, read hundreds of books, wrote two memoirs, and designed the Maryland pavilion at the 1964

World’s Fair. In 1968, he took a job managing rundown Boston racetrack Suffolk Downs. Naturally, he brought the razzle-dazzle. He designed a tote board that flashed wild colors when a long shot won. He invented the Lady Godiva Stakes, featuring eight (clothed) female jockeys riding eight fillies. He bought prop vehicles from sword-&-sandals epic *Ben Hur* and put on a chariot race. He recounted his adventures in a third memoir whose title referred to manure management at the track—*Thirty Tons a Day*.

In 1975, Veeck bought the White Sox again, inviting fans to tear out the artificial turf so he could plant real grass. To cool off bleacher-ticket buyers, he installed a shower there. He often sat in nose-bleed seats himself. In 1979, a foolish stunt he hyped at Comiskey Park went horribly wrong. On “Disco Demolition Night,” between games of a doubleheader, an anti-disco deejay blew up a crate of disco records, whereupon thousands mobbed the field and rioted, setting fires and chanting “Disco sucks!”

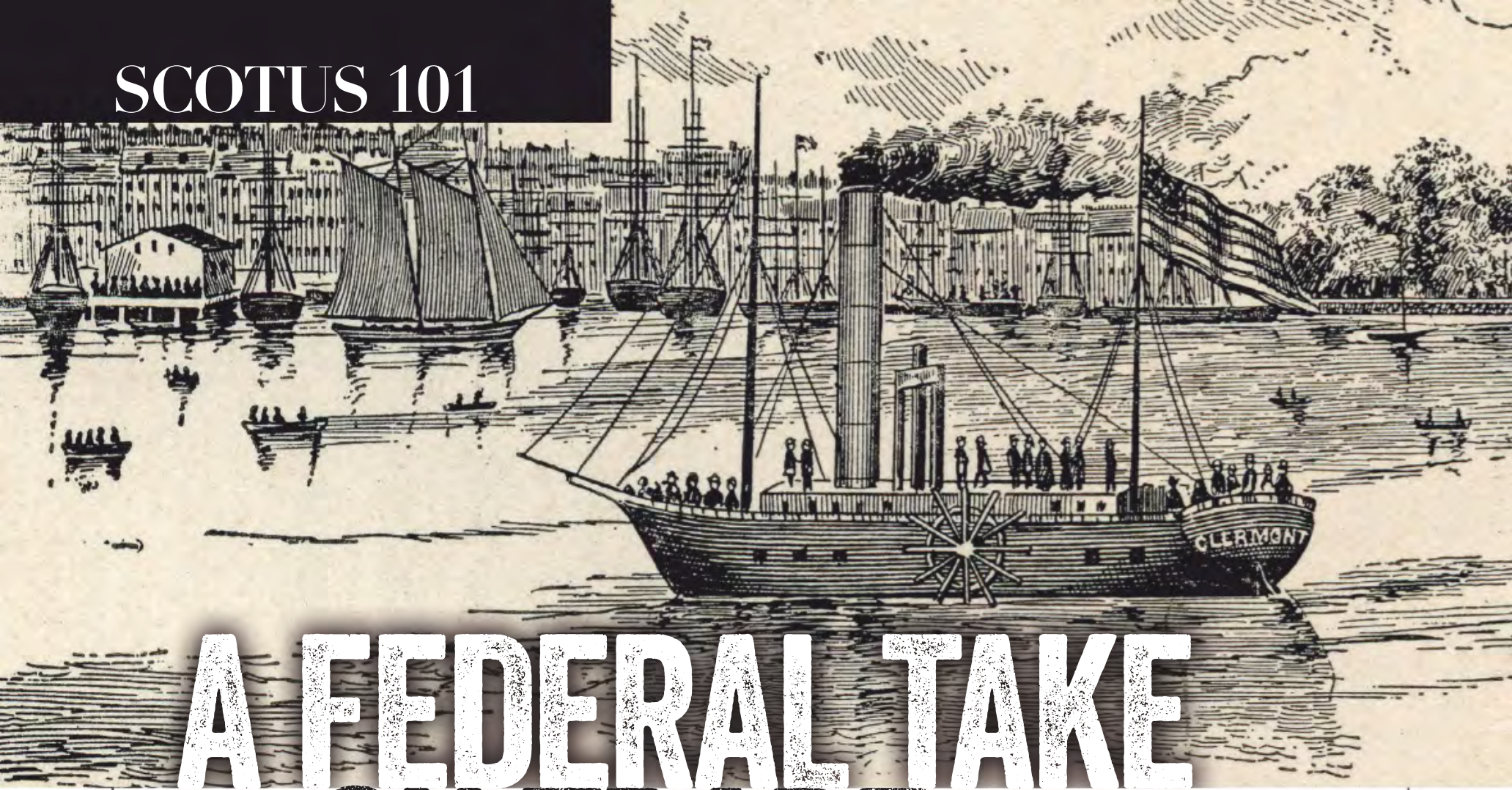
In 1981, Veeck, 66, sold the Sox. Sick, his lungs ravaged from smoking, he somehow survived another five years, spending much of that time at Wrigley Field, watching the Cubs from bleachers he’d helped build nearly 50 years earlier. Shirtless in shorts, wooden leg exposed, he’d sip beer and shoot the breeze with fellow fans.

“This,” Bill Veeck said, “is the epitome of pleasure.” ★

Little Big Man

Pinch hitter Eddie Gaedel with Browns Matt Batts, left, and Jim McDonald.





A FEDERAL TAKE ON TRADE

BY DANIEL B. MOSKOWITZ

GIBBONS V. OGDEN 22 U.S. 1 (1824) INTERSTATE COMMERCE CLAUSE



Roll, Tide
Steamship Clermont unleashed economic energies that John Marshall, as chief justice, had to try to contain in law.

At 1 p.m. on August 17, 1807, a 150-foot vessel's crew cast off from a dock near Greenwich Village on Manhattan Island, changing the course of American history. Two 15-foot steam-driven side wheels powered the ship to and from Albany on the Hudson River. The steamship's introduction made feasible rapid, reliable transport of raw materials and finished goods, ushering in the industrial revolution.

States saw in the *North River Steamboat of Clermont* and its maiden voyage a path to prosperity if they could offer steamship routes on waters within their borders. Some states were encouraging private road building by granting exclusive franchises empowering holders to charge regulated tolls. Doing so for shipping, states promised investors exclusive access to rivers between given ports—until conflicts between franchise-holders led to a revolution in jurisprudence shifting significant economic regulatory power from the states to the federal government, thanks to an 1824 U.S. Supreme Court case, *Gibbons v. Ogden*.

Engineer and inventor Robert Fulton designed the *Clermont*, run by a company he organized in partnership with his wife's uncle, Robert Livingston. In 1798, with steam power

still theoretical, Livingston got an exclusive to sail steamships on rivers across New York. Livingston and the state extended that license in 1803—coincidentally, the year that Livingston, as President Thomas Jefferson's emissary to France, negotiated the Louisiana Purchase. New York renewed his license in 1808, when company ships met a state demand to achieve at least five miles per hour under power. The shipping company grew. Within five years Fulton and Livingston had ships working six major rivers and Chesapeake Bay. Rivals were locking up franchises elsewhere.

In 1815, under its New York license, the Livingston-Fulton company subcontracted with Aaron Ogden. A former governor of New Jersey, Ogden had partnered with Georgia planter Thomas Gibbons on a shipping company. That scheme collapsed when, on his own, Gibbons began running between Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and New York City a competing steamship, *Bellona*. Gibbons had registered *Bellona* under the federal Coasting Act of 1793, which required licenses of all commercial vessels plying the country's coasts. Ogden, citing his license under the monopoly awarded the Livingston-Fulton company, asked New York State

courts to shut down Gibbons and *Bellona*. Both the Court of Chancery and the appeals court, then called the Court of Errors, agreed with Ogden that his sublicense gave him exclusive rights to call at New York ports, and that Gibbons had to stop sailing to those ports from New Jersey.

That precipitated a U.S. Supreme Court confrontation anyone who followed politics saw reaching well beyond shipping. With the American frontier pushing west and commerce between settlements there and the East becoming a national priority, an infrastructural frenzy had begun. Developers were digging canals. The federal government was paying to construct a 150-mile National Road between Cumberland, Maryland, and Wheeling, West Virginia. The ruling in the argument between Gibbons and Ogden would define the future not only of steamboat routes but interstate roads, canals, and technologies still gestating. As early as 1808 Jonathan Grout unsuccessfully asked Congress to give him a contract to establish a telegraph system; in 1815, Livingston's brother-in-law, John Stevens, had gotten a license from New Jersey to run a railroad there, though it was 10 years before he had a line operating.

Technology aside, *Gibbons v. Ogden* was integral to the struggle, dating to the republic's infancy, to define the extent to which states, in ratifying the Constitution, had yielded autonomy they had had under the Articles of Confederation. That debate's nature was evident in the petitioners' legal teams. Ogden had hired former New York State Attorneys General Thomas Emmet and Thomas Oakley. Gibbons was represented by Daniel Webster, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, and sitting U.S. Attorney General William Wirt.

Article 1, Section 8 of the Constitution authorizes Congress "to regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with Indian Tribes." But until the high court took on the Gibbons/Ogden dispute, the justices never had been asked to define that authority.

In three days of oral argument, Ogden's lawyers insisted that, as the New York courts had found, "commerce" meant little more than "trade," and that the Constitution merely empowered Congress to set some rules about sale of goods by parties in one state to parties in another, with the proviso that the states had concurrent power with Washington. Webster and Wirt insisted the commerce clause meant much more, applying, by their lights, to all business contacts between parties in different states and, moreover, that only the federal government had the power to regulate such contacts.

The Webster-Wirt argument on behalf of Gibbons carried the day with flying colors. "Commerce, undoubtedly, is traffic, but it is something more: it is intercourse," Chief Justice John Marshall wrote. "It describes the commercial intercourse between nations, and parts of nations, in all its branches, and is regulated by prescribing rules for

carrying on that intercourse." No single state could regulate a steamship plying between two states. Four of the five other Justices signed on to Marshall's opinion. William Johnson did not, but he did agree with colleagues that New York could not stop Gibbons from running his steamboat from New Jersey to New York.

Marshall's opinion went far further than handing Gibbons a win. Five years before, in *McCulloch v. Maryland*, Marshall had established that the federal government was meant to be very powerful ("Banking on Centralization," August 2018), ruling that it had powers beyond those outlined in the Constitution if it

needed those other powers to do its job. Now Marshall gave Washington something like a blank check to regulate broadly in the name of controlling interstate commerce. Congress could regulate not only commerce between states, he wrote, but also activities within a state "connected with" interstate commerce. Moreover, the chief justice decreed, that power "may be exercised to its utmost extent, and acknowledges no limitations, other than are prescribed in the Constitution."

Congress listened. *Gibbons v. Ogden* paved the way for federal regulation of navigation and transportation and, in 1890, for the Sherman Act, written to bust trusts that dominating American industries ranging from oil to whiskey. In 1905 the justices upheld a federal attack on price fixing among Chicago meatpackers, reasoning that though the activity was all local, participants were links in an interstate chain connecting cattle farmers to the dinner table. The principle of federal power over interstate commerce eventually allowed Congress to ban child labor, to set minimum wages and other working conditions, and, in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, to outlaw race-based bias against customers even by small local businesses, on the rationale that they sold goods made out of state. *Gibbons v. Ogden* resonated nearly everywhere except in the litigants' lives. By the time the court took the case in 1824, trencherman Gibbons was bedridden with the diabetes and obesity that killed him in 1826, and by 1829 business reversals had driven Ogden into debtor's prison, languishing until the New Jersey legislature passed a law freeing him. ★



Men at Odds

Ogden, top, initiated what became an epic legal confrontation when he started going after Gibbons's trade.



Blue-Winged Yellow Warbler

"This pretty little Warbler is migratory, and arrives in Louisiana from the south in the beginning of spring. It is found in open woods, as well as in the vicinity of ponds overgrown with low bushes and rank weeds. Along with a pair of Blue-winged Yellow Warblers, I have represented a species of Hibiscus, which grows on the edges of these ponds. Its flowers are handsome, but unfortunately have no pleasant odour."



STYLE

Upon the renovation of the John James Audubon Center for Art and Conservation, we honor its namesake and his 1827 *The Birds of America*.



American Bittern

"During my residence in Kentucky, I never saw nor heard of the occurrence of one of them; and although I have killed and assisted in killing a considerable number at various times of the year, I never heard their booming or love-notes; or, if I have, I did not feel assured that the sounds which reached my ears were those of the American Bittern."



STYLE

Bird Man

John James Audubon (1785–1851) was an American painter, naturalist, and author. *The Birds of America*, his focus 1827 to 1839, is an epic work of 435 prints of 497 species, 25 that he identified. The images are accompanied by his remarks on each. Ornithologist John Kirk Townsend, a member of Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth's Rocky Mountain expedition to the Pacific Ocean, collected many of the specimens shown in the volume. Audubon financed the project's cost of \$115,640—today, \$2 million-plus—with advance sales, commissions, exhibits, and sales of skins of animals he had hunted.



PORTRAIT OF AUDUBON BY JOHN SYME, 1826



Carolina Parrot.

PSITACUS CAROLINENSIS.

Plant Vulgo. Cuckoo Burr.

Carolina Parrot
“Doubtless, kind reader,
you will say, while looking
at the figures of Parakeets
represented in the plate,
that I spared not my labour.
I never do, so anxious am
I to promote your pleasure.”

STYLE

In 2010, a complete first edition of *The Birds of America* from Lord Hesketh's collection sold at Sotheby's in London for £7,321,250—roughly \$11.5 million—a record price for a printed book. On January 20, 2012, a like volume offered in New York by heirs of the Duke of Portland sold for \$7.9 million at Christie's. That sale brought to 120 the number of known surviving copies of *Birds*—107 held by institutions and 13 in private hands.



Broad-Winged Hawk

"The Broad-Winged Hawk is seldom seen in Louisiana, and I believe never except during the severe winters that occasionally occur in our Middle and Eastern Districts. I have observed that its usual range seldom extends far west of the Alleghany Mountains; but in Virginia, Maryland, and all the States to the eastward of these, it is by no means a rare species. I have shot several in the Jerseys, the State of New York, near the Falls of Niagara, and also in the Great Pine Forest."

Broad-winged Hawk.
FALCO PENNSYLVANICUS. WIL.
Male. 1. Female. 2.
Byron's History, Juglans procera.

STYLE

Renewed

This summer, the Audubon Center for Art and Conservation debuts new wings whose three galleries and theater showcase the naturalist's legacy.

A playground shows avian maturation as an interactive arc from egg to flight via zipline.

The site includes the house in which Audubon, an emigré from Saint-Domingue—Haiti—got to know America. "Hunting, fishing, drawing, and music occupied my every moment," he wrote of those days. "Cares I knew not, and cared naught about them."

John James Audubon Center at Mill Grove, 1201 Pawlings Road, Audubon, Pennsylvania 19403
johnjames.audubon.org



Aerial rendering of the new facility



Observation deck



John James Audubon

Visitors are able to view the two-story stone house home where Audubon lived.



Born in the USA

Birthright citizenship has a long and contentious history
By Joseph Connor



Getting Clear

Ex-slaves, like residents of a camp at Richmond, Virginia, in 1865, needed their status clarified.

The Civil War brought freedom to four million enslaved people. However, in January 1866, the meaning of that freedom under the law remained nebulous. The 13th Amendment, which states had ratified in December 1865, outlawed slavery. In 1857, however, the U.S. Supreme Court had in *Scott v. Sandford* denied citizenship to African-Americans, even those born in the United States. To Senator Lyman Trumbull (R-Illinois), the status quo—freedom without citizenship—smacked of continued involuntary servitude. The formerly enslaved born in America deserved birthright citizenship, the same as any white American enjoyed, Trumbull reasoned, and he vowed to make that reasoning a reality.

On January 5, 1866, Trumbull introduced S-61, a bill to grant citizenship to all freed slaves born in the United States. He expected Congress to pass this bill, formally known as

“An Act to protect all Persons in the United States in their Civil Rights, and furnish the Means of their Vindication,” and President Andrew Johnson to sign it into law.

However, citizenship proved a more divisive issue than Trumbull had envisioned, and in a controversy with echoes into the present, Congress spent months heatedly debating who deserves to be an American.

Initially, the concept of American citizenship was unsettled. Foreign-born immigrants became citizens by naturalization, a process the first Congress codified in 1790 that was limited to white persons and activated only after a five-year wait. Immigrants’ children born in the United States, however, enjoyed citizenship by virtue of *jus soli*, “right of the soil,” regardless of parental nationality. *Jus soli*, also called birthright citizenship, had originated in England and had





Advocate

*In 1866, U.S. Senator
Lyman Trumbull
(R-Illinois) activated
debate on citizenship.*

emigrated to the colonies with the first settlers from that nation. Still, the issue was not clear-cut, since neither the Constitution nor any statute expressly recognized or defined birthright citizenship. *Jus soli* was assumed to be the law, its theoretical and practical contours vague.

The United States was a nation of immigrants, and in the early 1800s its borders were open, with entry unrestricted. America needed hands to farm, backs to toil in factories, and pioneers to settle the West. By 1860, the population was 31.4 million, including 4.1 million foreign-born residents. Since Day One, European immigrants had come mostly by choice—except those Britain had transported as punishment. Most Americans of African descent had had no choice, arriving as they or their antecedents had in shackles as chattel. By 1860, the slave population of the United States of America had reached 3.9 million, mostly native-born.

Between 1820 and 1860 tentative streams from Ireland and other European countries began what would become an immigrant tide, causing xenophobia among so-called nativists to surge. These descendants of immigrants formed the anti-immigrant American Party, or Know-Nothings—if queried about the party, members were instructed to say they knew nothing—whose 1856 platform proclaimed that “Americans must rule America.” That year, the party’s presidential candidate, former chief executive Millard Fillmore, won 21.5 percent of the popular vote. Xenophobia was not universal. As of 1861, five states—Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, Oregon, and Wisconsin—allowed non-citizens to vote. In 1862, the



Dred Scott

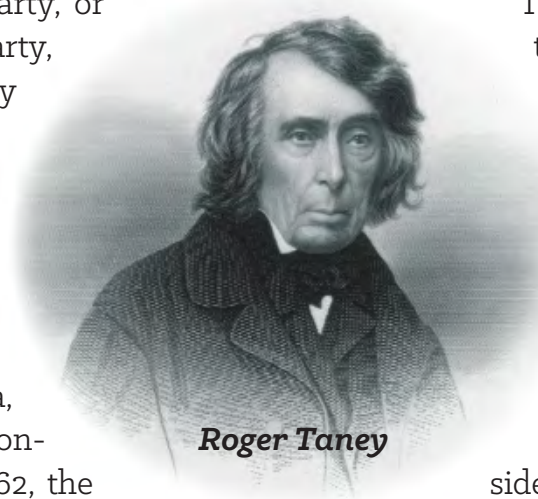
Homestead Act, implemented to settle portions of the West, allowed foreigners stating their intent to become citizens to take possession of publicly offered land.

The issue of birthright citizenship had reached the Supreme Court in 1857. Dred Scott, a slave born in Virginia, had sued his owner for his freedom in federal court after the planter brought Scott to a non-slave state. The owner, a U.S. Army surgeon, had taken Scott for several years to the free state of Illinois and the free territory of Wisconsin before returning the slave and his family to the South. Scott needed to establish jurisdiction before the courts would consider his case; he invoked diversity jurisdiction,

which allows a citizen of one state to sue a citizen of another in federal court. Citizenship seemed to be a given for the American-born Scott, but the Supreme Court disagreed, closing the courthouse door by holding that African-Americans were not citizens. Writing for the seven-justice majority, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney called blacks “beings of an inferior order” with “no rights which the white man was bound to respect.” Advocates of slavery rejoiced. Foes mourned. Enmity between North and South deepened.

During the Civil War, immigrants and African-Americans rallied to the flag. More than 500,000 foreign-born men—some naturalized, some non-citizens—and nearly 200,000 African-Americans fought for the Union. After the war, the 39th Congress faced the task of reunifying the country and eradicating bondage and its vestiges. On December 6, 1865,

Georgia became the 27th state to ratify the 13th Amendment, and slavery was outlawed. The next step was establishing citizenship for the formerly enslaved. Importation of slaves had ended in 1807; most freedmen of the



Roger Taney



“Stranger at Our Gate”
An 1896 political cartoon blatantly derided Jewish immigrants coming from Eastern Europe.

"Where the Blame Lies"

In this 1891 cartoon, that is the message to Uncle Sam from a judge indicting immigration as a cause of woe.



day had been born in the United States. The Scott decision flatly denied them citizenship. Nullifying that ruling would be politically astute for the Republicans controlling Congress. Citizenship begat suffrage and GOP leaders expected that African-Americans would embrace the political party that had freed them.

Trumbull, 52, was point man on the citizenship drive. A moderate elected to the Senate in 1854, he had chaired the powerful Senate Judiciary Committee since 1861.

The Illinois Republican was well-respected but aloof, lacking "the warmth of temperament calculated to win personal friendship," a contemporary noted. The slim, 5'10" Trumbull bore "a cast of countenance which marks the man of thought" and was a "clear and cogent reasoner" but not "gifted with personal 'magnetism.'"

Trumbull may have seen citizenship for freed slaves as a matter of fairness, but he was a white man of his age. "Among

the strongest anti-slavery champions in the West" and known in his lawyering days for representing slaves suing for freedom, he had as a senator drafted the 13th Amendment. Even so, in an 1858 speech, he had declared, "I want to have nothing to do either with the free negro or the slave negro."

Introduced on January 5, 1866, Trumbull's bill, now known as the Civil Rights Act of 1866, initially sought to make birth-right citizens of "persons of African descent born in the United States." Trumbull soon realized his bill's language was too restrictive, implying as it did that only African-Americans qualified for *jus soli*. On January 30, 1866, he submitted a rewrite to cover "(a)ll persons born in the United States, and not subject to any foreign Power."

Trumbull's revised bill codified the long-held belief that children born in the United States were American citizens. "As a matter of law, does anyone deny here or anywhere that



Newcomers from the East

Angel Island, at San Francisco, was the entry point for many Asian immigrants.



the native born is a citizen, and a citizen by virtue of his birth alone?" asked Senator Lot M. Morrill (R-Maine). Officially recognizing that principle, however, had wider implications, and officials worried about the bill's reach.

Would enactment of the bill make citizens of "the children of Chinese and Gypsies born in this country?" asked Senator Edgar Cowan (R-Pennsylvania). "Undoubtedly," Trumbull replied. Cowan angrily predicted that "the day may not be very far distant when California, instead of belonging to the Indo-European race, may belong to the Mongolian..." The very idea of granting non-whites citizenship outraged Senator Garrett Davis, a Unionist from Kentucky. Defining the American nation as a "Government and a political organization of white people," Davis asserted that when "a negro or Chinaman is attempted to be obtruded into it, the sufficient cause to repel him is that he is a negro or Chinaman." Senator Peter G. Van Winkle, a West Virginia Unionist, feared immigrants "whose mixture with our race...could only tend to the deterioration of the mass." Van Winkle worried that the bill's language was broad enough to cover "a future immigration to this country of which we have no conception."

Representative James F. Wilson (R-Iowa) insisted the bill's reach was not unlimited. According to Wilson, that reach



"Paper Children"

Young Chinese often claimed ties to relatives already in the United States.

excluded “children born on our soil to temporary sojourners,” a remote issue, since owing to travel cost and time, most who came to America came to stay.

The outcome was never in doubt. Republicans enjoyed a healthy majority in both houses, and the former Confederate states had not yet regained representation in Congress. On February 2, 1866, the Senate passed the bill 33-12. On March 13, 1866, the House approved 111-38. The Civil Rights Bill of 1866 went to President Johnson for his signature.

Trumbull, who had met with the president while the bill was pending, believed he had Johnson’s support. He felt betrayed on March 27, 1866, when the president vetoed the bill. Johnson claimed that since a European immigrant had to undergo a five-year wait to seek citizenship but a former slave would not, the bill discriminated “against large numbers of intelligent, worthy, and patriotic foreigners, and in favor of the Negro.” Reaction to Johnson’s veto was mixed. *The Nation* attacked its logic as “that of a stump speech, and its law would hardly pass current in a college moot court.” The *New York Times* praised Johnson for rejecting the bill’s favoritism for the “black freedman” over the “white immigrant.”

Counterattacking on April 6, 1866, the Senate overrode Johnson’s veto 33-15. The vote drew applause in galleries that included “some hundreds of men of color...whose dusky but earnest faces were bent upon the fate of the bill.” Three days

later, the House overrode the veto 122-41, with the ensuing applause “especially strong from the ‘colored galleries.’”

Birthright citizenship was now the law, but supporters were uneasy.

Huddled Masses

An 1892 lithograph pictures European immigrants arriving in New York harbor.



If one Congress could adopt *jus soli* by legislation, a later Congress could reverse that action just as easily. A constitutional amendment, Republican leaders felt, would give greater permanence. They tacked citizenship onto the 14th Amendment, pending in the Senate.

On May 30, 1866, Senator Jacob M. Howard (R-Michigan) added language to the amendment granting citizenship to “all persons born in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof.” This provision was, Howard said, “simply declaratory of what I regard as the law of the land already.” Making that change, he said, would remove “all doubt as to what persons are or are not citizens of the United States,” an issue Howard called “a great desideratum in the jurisprudence and legislation of this country.” The “subject to” clause, he explained, would exclude children born to foreign ambassadors in America and those born to members of Indian tribes Congress treated as sovereign. Neither foreign diplomats nor these Native American tribes were considered subject to the jurisdiction of the United States. Native Americans had to wait until 1924 for citizenship.

Pennsylvania Senator Cowan, *jus soli*’s most vocal foe, trotted out the bogeymen of the day: Gypsies and the Chinese. The Republican said he opposed citizenship for Gypsies, who, he said, “wander in gangs in my State...(and) follow no ostensible pursuit for a livelihood.” This was too much for Senator John Conness (R-California), who knew firsthand about immigration and bigotry. Born in Ireland in 1821, he had come to America in 1836 and had lived through the Know-Nothing era. “I have heard more about Gypsies within the last two or three months than I have heard before



Eating on Ellis Island
Arriving immigrants could get a free meal and buy packaged food at the reception facility.

FROM LEFT: PETER NEWARK AMERICAN PICTURES/BRIDGEMAN IMAGES; SMITH COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES



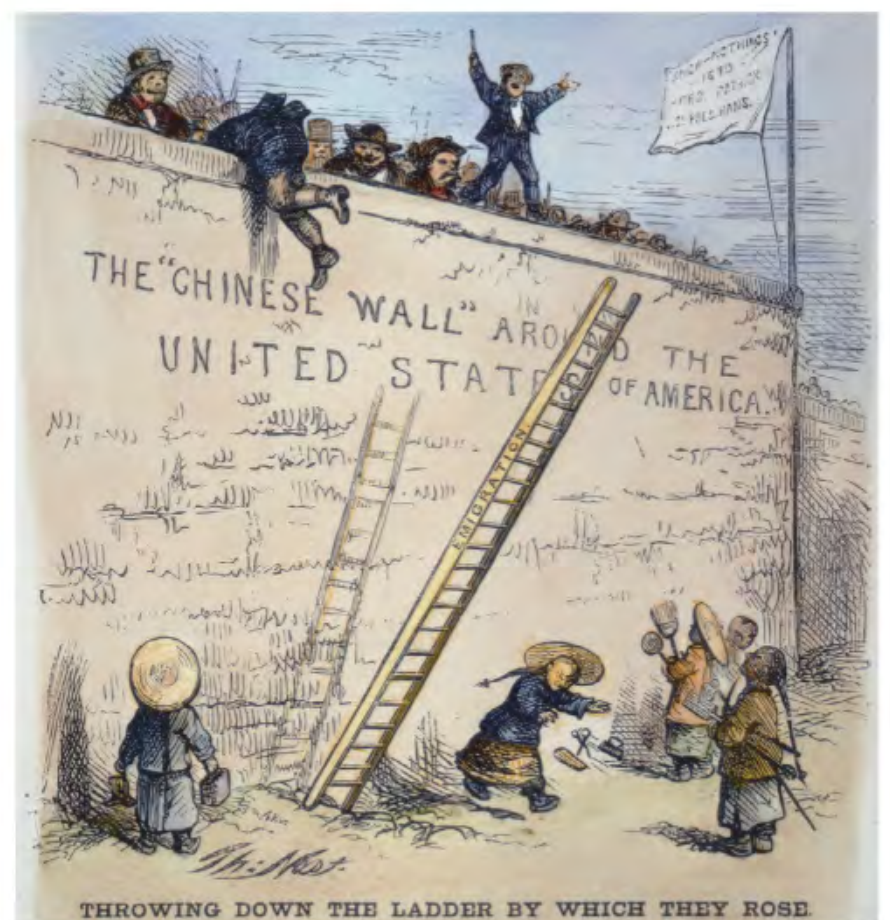
in my life," Conness quipped, accusing Cowan of conjuring imaginary Gypsy hordes "so that hereafter the negro alone shall not claim our entire attention."

Cowan, who claimed to be "as liberal as anybody toward the rights of all people," saved his strongest acid for the Chinese. "[I]f it proposed that the people of California are to remain quiescent while they are overrun by a flood of immigration of the Mongol race?" he asked. "Are they to be immigrated out of house and home by Chinese?" Conness mocked Cowan's argument. "It may be very good capital in an electioneering campaign to declaim against the Chinese," the California senator told his colleague, adding that Cowan should "give himself no further trouble on account of the Chinese in California."

Cowan had a loud voice but few votes. On June 8, 1866, the Senate passed the 14th Amendment 33-11, well exceeding the required two-thirds majority. On June 13, the House approved 120-32. The president's signature was not needed to amend the Constitution, and the 14th Amendment went to the states for ratification. Ratification required approval by three quarters of the states. The amendment's contentiousness rendered the process rough. Besides recognizing birthright citizenship, the instrument guaranteed due process and equal protection for all, meanwhile permanently barring certain former Confederate officials from federal office. The 11 former Confederate states, still not back in Congress, did count for ratification purposes, meaning for the

amendment to become law, 28 of the 37 states had to approve. When the former rebel states balked, Congress threatened to withhold readmission to Congress. On July 9, 1868, South Carolina, the first state to secede from the Union, became the 28th to ratify the amendment.

However, there was a bump. After ratifying the amendment, New Jersey and Ohio had rescinded their ratifications





Native Son

A racist immigration official refused to admit the California-born Wong, who was returning from visiting relatives in China.

States. The same year, Congress prohibited entry by any “lunatic, idiot, or any person unable to take care of himself or herself without becoming a public charge.” In 1891, Congress excluded “persons suffering from a loathsome or a dangerous contagious disease” and polygamists. Imposition of these restrictions created a category for individuals coming to America in violation of these restrictions. Today they are called illegal aliens or undocumented immigrants, phrases unknown to the 39th Congress because in 1866 anyone could enter, and not until the 20th century did Congress begin setting country by country quotas for admission. Deportation also entered the picture, with Congress in 1891 ordering that anyone caught trying to enter illegally “be immediately sent back on the vessel Co. by which they were brought in.” Any forbidden immigrant found to have sneaked in was to be “returned as by law provided.”

Executive agencies imposed particular limits on birthright citizenship. In 1884, Ludwig Hausding, raised in Germany, sought an American passport, claiming to be a U.S. citizen because he had been born here. On January 15, 1885, however, Secretary of State Frederick T. Frelinghuysen refused to issue the passport, finding that Ludwig was not a citizen because his German parents were not immigrants but only temporary visitors when their son was born. Later that year, the State Department came to the same conclusion regarding Richard Greisser, whose German father and Swiss mother had been visiting the United States at the time of his birth.

Customs officials had their own restrictions. In August 1895, California native Wong Kim Ark, 22, visited relatives in China and returned to San Francisco. Customs collector John H. Wise refused to let Wong land. Born

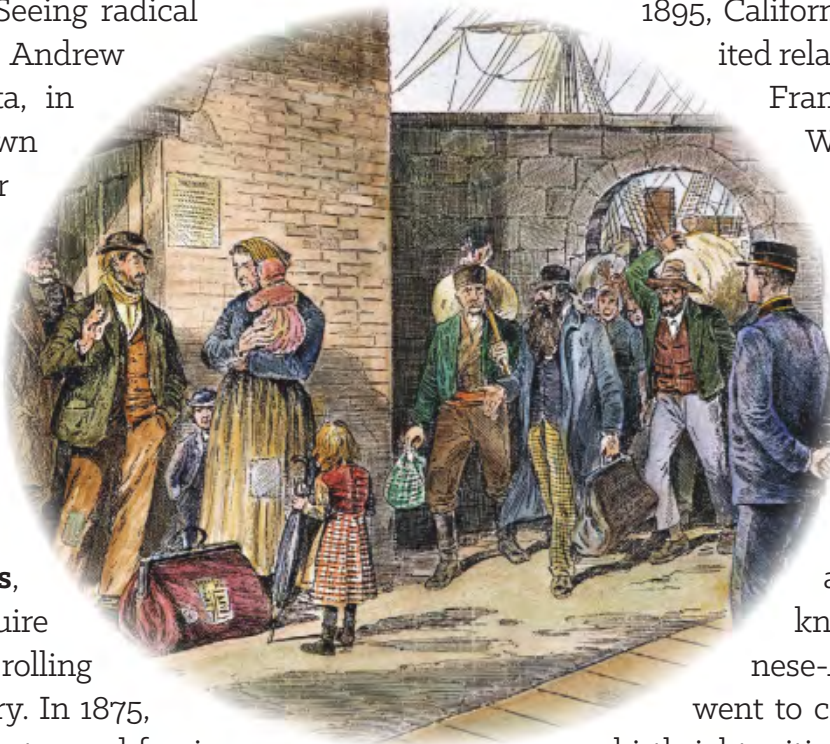
in San Francisco in 1873, Wong was as American as Wise, but the customs man, a self-proclaimed “zealous opponent of Chinese immigration,” could not see beyond Wong’s “race, language, color, and dress.” Wong was imprisoned aboard ship in San Francisco Bay when attorney Thomas D. Riordan, known for his work on behalf of Chinese-Americans, came to his aid. Wong

went to court. His case set the contours of birthright citizenship when the U.S. Supreme Court sided with him in a landmark 1898 decision. Writing on behalf of the six-member majority, Justice Horace Gray described Wong’s ancestry as irrelevant and found him to be as American as the Fourth of July. Gray wrote that

in formal votes by their legislatures. No one was sure what rescission meant, except to rattle the amendment’s backers. Ratification by Alabama and Georgia removed any doubt, bringing the total of state ratifications again to 28, and on July 28, 1868, Secretary of State William H. Seward certified the 14th Amendment as adopted.

It had taken Lyman Trumbull two years, but he had succeeded in his quest for birthright citizenship. Trumbull’s conscience, which had told him that people deserved certain basic rights, was his undoing. Seeing radical Republicans’ impeachment of Andrew Johnson as a partisan vendetta, in May 1868 he attacked his own party’s “intemperate zealots” for seeking Johnson’s removal. When impeachment came to a vote in the Senate, Trumbull voted to acquit, effectively ending his political career. He retired from the Senate when his term ended in 1873.

Over the next two decades, immigration policy began to acquire its modern form by means of a rolling drumbeat of restrictions for entry. In 1875, Congress barred entry by prostitutes and foreign convicts, though providing no mechanism to determine who was a prostitute or convict. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act barred laborers from that country and denied naturalization to Chinese immigrants already living in the United



Home at Last

New arrivals come ashore in 1885 at Castle Garden in lower Manhattan.

except for the children of foreign ambassadors and Native Americans, “[e]very person born in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, becomes at once a citizen of the United States, and needs no naturalization.”

To hold otherwise, Gray noted, “would be to deny citizenship to thousands of persons of English, Scotch, Irish, German, or other European parentage, who have always been considered and treated as citizens of the United States.” Two justices disagreed. Dissenting Chief Justice Melville Fuller saw peril in *jus soli* for parents in the country unlawfully. The parents could be deported, he wrote, but as citizens, their children could stay. He decried as “cruel and unusual punishments” any move to “tear up parental relations by the roots.”

Wong Kim Ark, still in effect today, seemed to settle the

issue of birthright citizenship. However, the decision may have left open the question of *jus soli* for the temporary visitors’ issue and for children of those in the country unlawfully. The Supreme Court did not explicitly address either scenario because Wong’s parents were neither temporary visitors nor illegal aliens. They had emigrated before 1882 to settle and to run a business.

Birthright citizenship remains a flash point, and full resolution of the issue’s disputatious aspects may require another Supreme Court ruling, perhaps equal in significance to the Court’s 1857 citizenship ruling. “Stay tuned,” legal scholar James C. Ho, now a judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals, wrote in a 2006 law journal article. “*Dred Scott II* could be coming soon to a federal court near you.” ★



Family Anchors

In 2017 nearly 150,000 people became American citizens through child sponsorship.

dents based on sponsorship by their children, the Department of Homeland Security states.

When unauthorized immigrants have a child in the United States, that child is a citizen. Raising a child who is a citizen enhances parents’ chances of gaining permanent residence. Upon turning 21, that child can sponsor his or her parents for lawful permanent residence. These offspring often are called “anchor babies,” a term immigration advocates view as pejorative. The Center for Immigration Studies says more than 300,000 American children per year are born to unauthorized immigrants. *Jus soli* has spawned birth tourism, a social phenomenon and a business. Affluent foreigners on tourist visas flock to bear children on American soil, obtaining a foothold on residence—highlighted recently by federal indictments arising from 2015 raids on Los Angeles-area operations alleged to engage in visa fraud, wire fraud, and identity theft. Chinese women pay as much as \$80,000 to companies that handle logistics, providing “apartments in complexes boasting resort-style opulence and amenities and outings to upscale eateries, Disneyland and a shooting range,” the *Wall Street Journal* reported in 2015. Miami-based birth brokers charge comparably to provide such services to Russian and Brazilian women. “Crowds of pregnant girls come here and then take away crowds of little Americans,” a Russian mother who gave birth in Miami told the *London Times* in 2018. Customers pay separately, usually in cash, for medical care, often obtaining U.S. passports for their babies before returning home. No law regulates such expeditions, as long as pregnant travelers do not lie about their visits’ purpose. The Center for Immigration Studies estimates that birth tourists have more than 30,000 American babies per year.

Jus soli has spawned birth tourism, a social phenomenon and a business. Affluent foreigners on tourist visas flock to bear children on American soil, obtaining a foothold on residence—highlighted recently by federal indictments arising from 2015 raids on Los Angeles-area operations alleged to engage in visa fraud, wire fraud, and identity theft. Chinese women pay as much as \$80,000 to companies that handle logistics, providing “apartments in complexes boasting resort-style opulence and amenities and outings to upscale eateries, Disneyland and a shooting range,” the *Wall Street Journal* reported in 2015. Miami-based birth brokers charge comparably to provide such services to Russian and Brazilian women. “Crowds of pregnant girls come here and then take away crowds of little Americans,” a Russian mother who gave birth in Miami told the *London Times* in 2018. Customers pay separately, usually in cash, for medical care, often obtaining U.S. passports for their babies before returning home. No law regulates such expeditions, as long as pregnant travelers do not lie about their visits’ purpose. The Center for Immigration Studies estimates that birth tourists have more than 30,000 American babies per year.

Since the 14th Amendment enshrines *jus soli*, only a new reading by the U.S. Supreme Court or a constitutional amendment can change that principle. A 2015 CNN/ORC poll showed that half of Americans favor retaining birthright citizenship, even for children of unauthorized immigrants; 49 percent want the law changed.

Congress repeatedly has weighed and found wanting bills to eliminate *jus soli* for visitors’ children or unauthorized immigrants’ offspring by requiring that at least one parent be a citizen or a legal permanent resident. The U.S. Justice Department insists that only a constitutional amendment—a process that requires a two-thirds vote by both houses of Congress and ratification by three-quarters of the 50 states—can change birthright citizenship. Great Britain, originator of the American principle of *jus soli*, eliminated unconditional birthright citizenship in 1981, limiting *jus soli* to children with at least one parent who is a British citizen or a lawful permanent resident. —Joseph Connor

Still Making Headlines

The American argument over birthright citizenship continues, with unexpected twists and a profound constant—the nation is still one of immigrants. The 2010 census counted some 40 million residents—13 percent of the population—were born elsewhere. Rules on lawful entry and stay are strict, but some estimates have more than 20 million people living illegally in the United States.

Jus soli reverberates far beyond anything members of the 39th Congress could have imagined. In 1866, the country had no curbs on entry; today, birthright citizenship can legitimize the status of immigrants who entered illegally. In 2017, nearly 150,000 people became permanent resi-

Man vs. Mountain

Hazard was his name,
and high-rock chance-taking
was this daredevil's game
By Jessica Wambach Brown

A

fter eight hours in the black-and-white world above Mount Rainier's tree line, where even in August all about was snow and rock, Hazard Stevens stared down into the crevasse separating him from the mountain's 14,410-foot summit. Twenty feet across, immeasurably deep, the chasm gleamed emerald green all the way down.

It was high summer, 1870. In recent decades, mountaineers had summited Baker, Hood, Shasta, and every other volcano punctuating the Cascade Range from the Canadian border to Northern California—except the tallest: Rainier. The seismic giant had humbled half a dozen climbers. All were more experienced than Stevens, who to this point had ascended nothing higher than the bloodied rolling hills of Petersburg, Virginia, during the Civil War.

Nine days and 90 miles of slogging toward the fifth highest peak in the continental United States had brought Stevens, 28, and his companion, Philemon Beecher Van Trump, 31, to an



“The Mountain Is Out!”

That’s the exclamation common among Pacific Northwesterners when 14,410-foot Rainier makes itself evident.

impasse. With the sun sinking, the wind bitter, and their coats thousands of feet below, the men wrapped themselves in outdated American flags they had packed to plant when they had achieved the peak and contemplated the gap between the summit and themselves. Hazard Stevens reached for his coil of rope and fashioned a noose.

Stevens would have seen what he called “the leviathan of mountains” for the first time in December 1854, upon arriving in Olympia, Washington, with his mother, Margaret, and three younger sisters. The five had traveled from Narragansett, Rhode Island, to meet paterfamilias Isaac Ingalls

Stevens. A decorated veteran of the Mexican War, the senior Stevens had come west months earlier to claim his reward for supporting Franklin Pierce’s successful presidential bid: governorship of the newly formed Washington Territory and an additional appointment as the region’s superintendent of Indian affairs. Olympia was the seat of government for the territory, a wild frontier stretching from the north shore of the Columbia River to the Canadian border, and from the Pacific coast to the Continental Divide.

Rainier, the most glaciated peak in the contiguous United States, stood 75 miles east of Olympia, the half-million-year-old progeny of lava from the western slope of the Cascades.

Most days, the convergence of warm ocean air and cold mountain drafts shrouded the active volcano in a cap of elliptical clouds. In clear weather, the mountain's snowy dome, adorned with three distinct peaks and a pair of craters formed 2,000 year ago in Rainier's last significant eruption, was visible for more than 100 miles in any direction. Seeing the mountain from Puget Sound in 1792, English explorer George Vancouver had named it for his friend, Rear Admiral Peter Rainier. Most local Indians knew the stone mass as Takoma, by various spellings, meaning "mother of waters." More than two dozen glaciers extended from the dome, carving the mountain's iconic shape of broad ridges and deep snowy valleys and giving milky life, thanks to finely ground stone dust suspended in melt water, to six river systems feeding dense evergreen forests stretching miles in every direction.

Rainier's virgin summit had long taunted would-be conquerors. The most promising route to a point from which to ascend was the bed of the Nisqually River, which flowed from a glacier by the same name and made a sharp turn west at the sawtooth Tatoosh Range that guarded Rainier's southern flank. En route to the Puget Sound, the river passed the nearest road's end at Yelm Prairie, some 30 miles east of Olympia.

Native Americans hunted mountain goats as high as Rainier's snowline, but would go no farther, fearing an evil spirit said to rule over a lake of fire at the summit. In 1833, Scottish doctor William Fraser Tolmie was the first white man to approach Rainier on foot. Tolmie, who had come searching for medicinal herbs, wrote in his journal that he had had to stop short of the mountain when he came to "inaccessible precipices." In the decades since, topographers and engineers had made attempts at summiting Rainier. The most recent, Augustus Kautz, had come within 400 feet of the summit in July 1857 when nasty weather turned him back. The next year, hoping to build a wagon road across the Cascades, local pioneer James Longmire helped cut a crude trail from



his home at Yelm Prairie to the foot of the Tatoosh Range, a craggy gateway to Rainier's forested base.

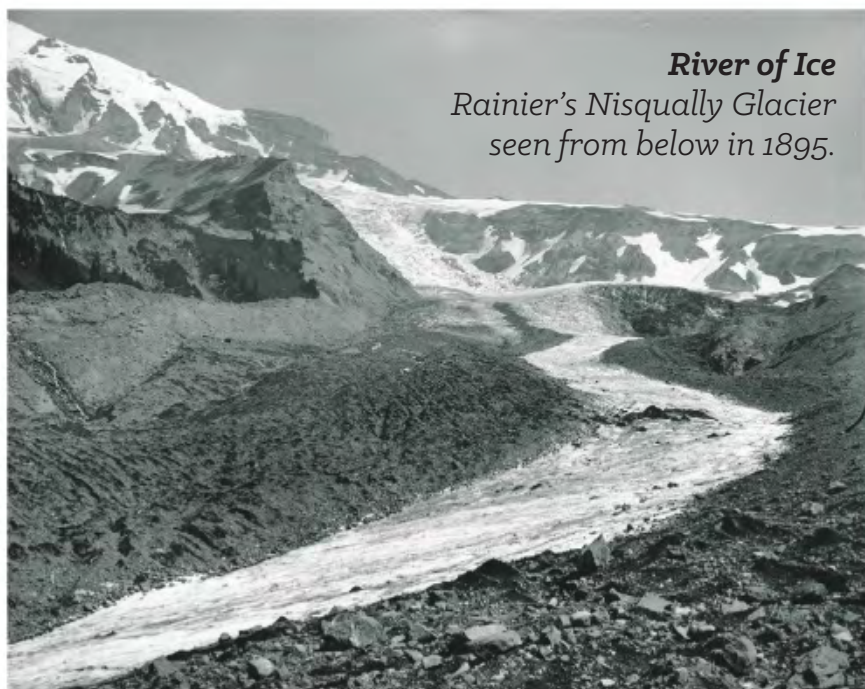
In 1867, Stevens met Van Trump, who had learned to climb in the Rockies. They shared an ambition to summit Rainier; Van Trump could have been speaking for them both when he described Stevens as "a young man of indomitable energy and push, on whom obstacles acted only as spurs to action." Forest fires the summers of 1868 and 1869 forced them to postpone an attempt. In early August 1870, they traveled to Yelm Prairie to hire Longmire as a guide. As dusk fell, they stopped to admire the mountain, that day without its usual cloud cap. "Rainier loomed up directly in front in full view over the fringe of forest, and the declining sun lit up with a crimson glow the whole white mass, bringing out in bold relief every rugged, rocky outline," Stevens wrote later in *The Atlantic Monthly*. "Our admiration was not so noisy as usual. Perhaps a little of dread mingled with it."

Stevens and Van Trump returned to Yelm on August 8 with Edmund T. Coleman, 46. Two years before, Coleman, an Englishman experienced at Swiss alpine ascents, had been among the first to scale 10,781-foot Mount Baker, 100 miles north of Rainier. Brimming with optimism, the three climbing partners carried a pair of flags—a 13-star revolutionary version, and a contemporary 32-star version—and a brass plate bearing their names, which they planned to plant at the summit. Longmire again bushwhacked his trail for more than 60 miles up the Nisqually, delivering the trio to Bear Prairie, where Rainier towered. "Startlingly near it looked to our eyes, accustomed to the restricted views and gloom of the forest," Stevens wrote. The climbers hired a Yakama Indian guide, Sluiskin. Each was to pay Sluiskin \$1 per day to supply fresh meat and convey them to Rainier's permanent snowline, where the buckskin-clad guide would leave them to ascend the mountain. The Indian swore the best approach was to depart the Nisqually and cross the Tatoosh Range.



Like Father, Like Son
Hazard Stevens, top, learned to be a man from his father Isaac Ingalls Stevens.

Coleman had been a bad choice—an over-packer who lagged and turned back before the first plateau, taking with him the party's altimeter and bacon. Sluiskin set an eager pace, urging on Van Trump and Stevens for three days of hot, hard travel through forests of Douglas fir and Western hemlock. Van Trump wondered if the guide was taking them out of their way to pad his pay. Their destination was the base of a glacier just east of the Nisqually icefield. Recalling peaks projecting like needles from the valley floor, Stevens wrote, "It seemed incredible that any human foot could have followed the course we came."



River of Ice
Rainier's Nisqually Glacier
seen from below in 1895.

The next leg troubled Sluiskin. The Englishman's fast fade had him doubting his other clients' grit. Stevens and Van Trump convinced the guide they were sincere, but still the Indian pleaded with them to turn back before they came within range of mudslides, crevasses, and killing cold—all the work of the mountain spirit, he said. When the white men insisted, Sluiskin said he would wait in camp for three days, then travel to Olympia to report their deaths. Stevens retired to his bedroll and drifted off to the rumble of avalanches and Sluiskin at fireside, chanting ominously.

Stevens first forged friendships with Native Americans on a nine-month trip he made at age 13 with his father, who had to negotiate treaties between the region's tribes and the federal government. Governor

Mountaineer Gear
Stevens's pack frame reflected the materials and technology of the era in which he lived.



Stevens's methods of acquiring some 100,000 square miles of territory—including Rainier and environs, which became a federal reservation—later came under intense scrutiny, but his son long treasured their two-horse odyssey.

Camped by the Missouri River in the summer of 1855, the governor gave his son a long leash. Hazard, whose first name was his mother's family name, became a fine horseman and an excellent shot. In October, the two were still on the road, tying up loose ends for the upcoming Blackfeet Council, at which nine tribes would rendezvous in north-central Montana to negotiate peace, hunting rights, and access for whites through the region. Needing to be sure a chief of the Gros Ventre tribe who lived on the Milk River would attend, the governor dispatched his son to find the Indian. The youth made the 150-mile round trip over wind-whipped yellow plains in 30 hours, and was thrilled to report that he had seen a grizzly bear.

On day nine of their climb, Stevens and Van Trump rose before dawn to prepare their packs. Scouting the summit the day before, they decided they could reach the peak and return in a day. Since leaving Yelm, they had been sweltering, so they left their coats and blankets, carrying enough food for a single meal, one large canteen, and only the most basic gear, like the alpine climbing staffs the men used to steady themselves.

The climbers needed three hours to reach 10,000 feet, at which the mountain became perilously steep. Ascending a rocky, angular ridge, Stevens

Men at War
Isaac Stevens, seated,
with his staff during
the Civil War. Hazard
Stevens, his adjutant,
is third from left.



Namesake and Legacy
British Admiral Peter Rainier, left, lent his name to the mountain that, upon that first ascent, became wildly popular with climbers.



and Van Trump came to a massive square outcropping left by glaciers. Clinging to the rock, they felt for footholds along a narrow debris-covered saddle. As they shuffled, their boots loosened stones that clattered into the icy abyss.

After 400 yards, the ledge intersected a snowfield leading to the dome high above. As the men climbed a slick gutter where glacier met rock, boulders and ice thundered down. One struck the staff in Van Trump's hand.

In late 1857, when his father's term as governor expired, Hazard and the rest of the family moved east to Boston. In 1860, he entered Harvard College. When war broke out in 1861, his father assumed command of the 79th New York

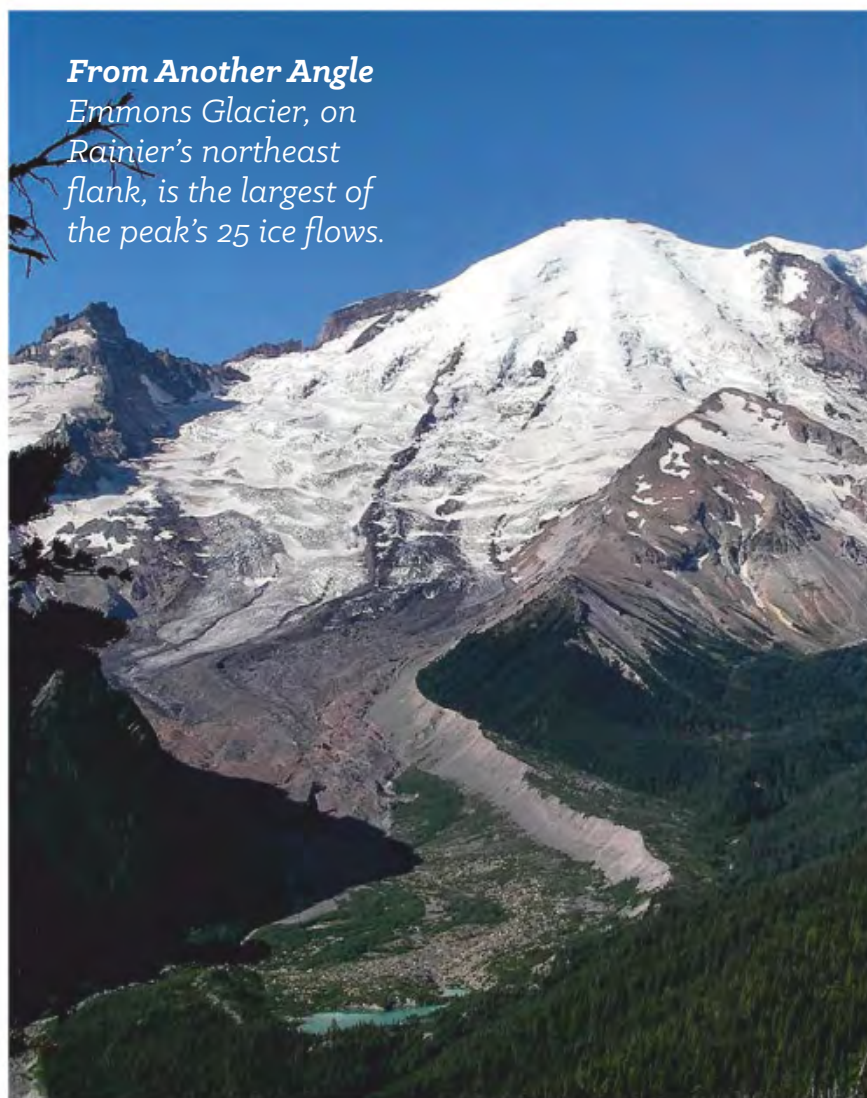
Highlander Volunteers. After freshman year, Hazard joined that unit. That September Isaac Stevens wrote to his wife to report proudly that he had appointed their 19-year-old his adjutant general. A year later, at the Battle of Chantilly, Virginia, Brigadier General Stevens was killed leading a charge; young Captain Stevens lay wounded on the same field.

Margaret Stevens begged her son to come home to help raise his sisters. Hazard rejoined the Army of the Potomac. He wrote almost daily to his mother, sending every dime of salary he could spare, along with the proceeds of bets he won racing on horseback. "Happy are they who die nobly on the battlefield, instead of disgracing their manhood by staying at home at a time like this," he wrote his mother. He fought at Fredericksburg, the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, Petersburg, and elsewhere. During the siege of Suffolk, Virginia, on April 19, 1863, he led a charge under heavy fire across the Nansemond River to capture a fort. "I have seen so much of life that I can take mighty good care of myself," he wrote home.

Van Trump's stick disappeared, caroming into Nisqually Glacier. To keep from joining the wayward staff, the men climbed onto the snowfield and took turns hacking steps with an ice axe. The arduous process brought them to the crevasse, on whose far side an ice pinnacle rose about 12 feet.

Trusting in hemp, frozen water, and his knot-tying skills, Stevens lassoed the ice spike. Tightening the noose and swinging on the rope, he and Van Trump each crossed to the far wall and clambered hand over hand to solid ground. The mountain's southwest peak was in sight but thin air forced them to rest often as they crept in a violent wind from the snowfield to a 10-foot wide ledge poking from the main cone. At the highest point, which they named Peak Success, they fastened a flag to Stevens's staff and stood, shouting in triumph. "And weak cheers they seemed, for at that lonely height there was nothing to echo or prolong the sound," Van Trump said later. "The wind was now a perfect tempest, and bitterly cold; smoke and mist were flying about the base of the mountain, half hiding, half revealing its gigantic outlines; and the whole scene was sublimely awful," Stevens wrote.

From Another Angle
Emmons Glacier, on Rainier's northeast flank, is the largest of the peak's 25 ice flows.



In Memoriam

Sluiskin Falls, named for the Indian who guided Stevens and Van Trump, in 1910.

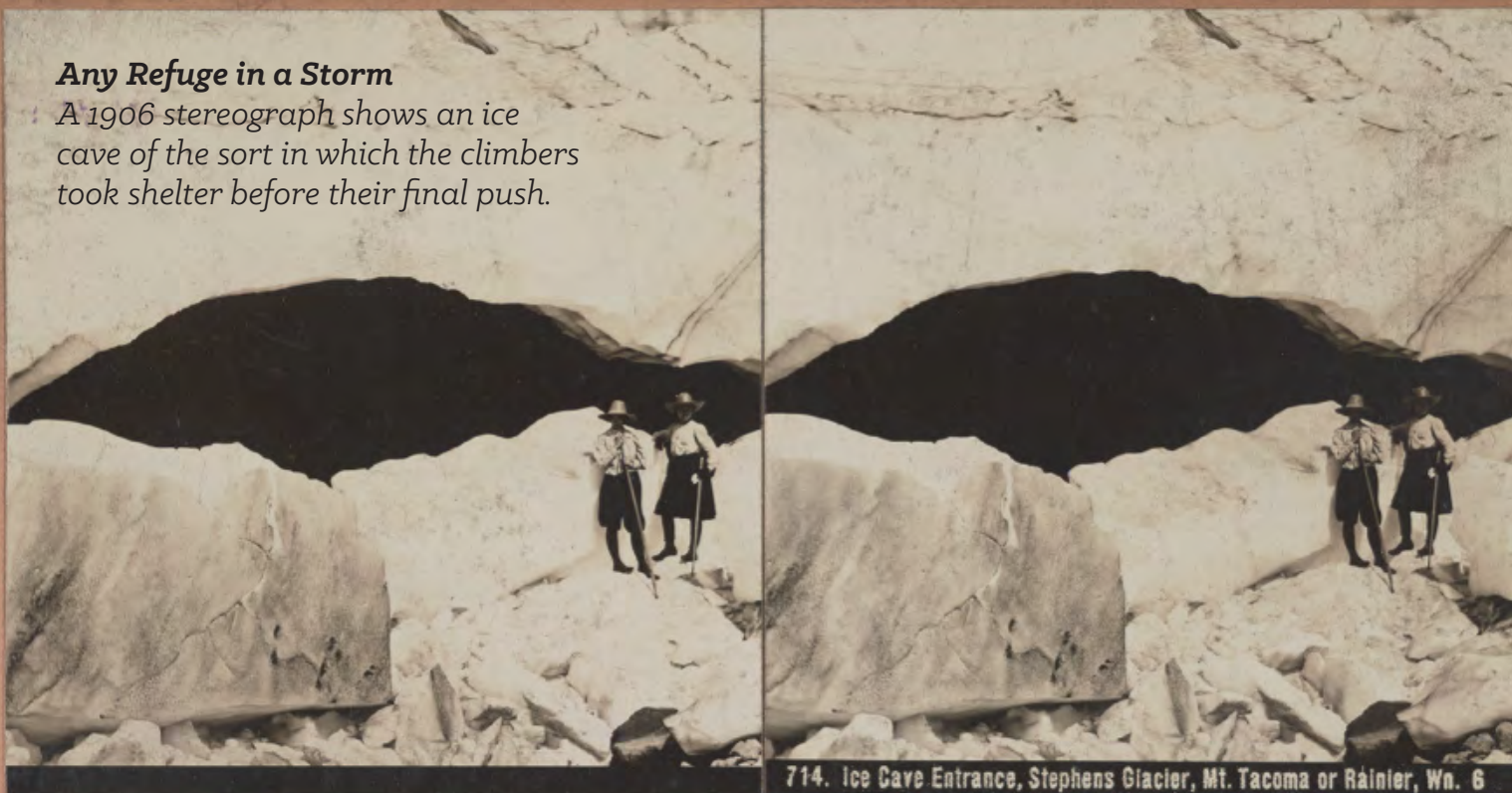


HISTORY AND ART COLLECTION/ALAMY STOCK PHOTO

Blosser Scenic Art Company,
Snohomish, Wash.

Any Refuge in a Storm

A 1906 stereograph shows an ice cave of the sort in which the climbers took shelter before their final push.



714. Ice Cave Entrance, Stephens Glacier, Mt. Tacoma or Rainier, Wn. 6

Copyright, 1906, by J. A. Blosser.

Views of the Cascade Mountains, Puget
Sound, and the Pacific Northwest.

That flag-planting celebration had been premature. About a mile to the northeast the true summit rose about 250 feet higher. The men followed the rim of a snow-filled depression to what they called Crater Peak. The sun was setting; they would have to overnight in place. Van Trump noticed steam issuing from a crack along the crater's rim. Edging into the opening, Stevens and Van Trump entered a cave, its ceiling four feet in spots, with a smooth rock bottom and a roof of ice. Steam from deep in the crater had formed the chamber; the source was a steam vent about 40 feet into the cave. Devouring their scant meal and emptying the canteen, they piled stones around the vent. There they lay, each wondering if he was going to make it.

Stevens spent New Year's Eve 1865 waiting out a snow-storm in New York Harbor aboard the steamer *Henry*

Chauncey, bound for the Pacific Northwest. Three months before, he had left the 79th Volunteers as their youngest brigadier general, declining a regular army commission. Bureaucratic fumbles had disrupted his late father's pension payments, putting his mother and sisters in dire financial straits. In Washington Territory, Stevens, 23, hoped his military reputation and his father's connections would make up for his lack of a trade.

Within months Stevens was working for the Oregon Steam Navigation Company, collecting fees charged freighters and fares from passengers at the Columbia river town of Wallula, Washington. Wallula was by Stevens' lights a "dreary place," but he had as companions a pair of setters that loved hunting prairie chickens as much as he did. It took him a year to save enough money to bring his mother and the girls back out West.

In 1868, Stevens landed an appointment as U.S. collector of internal revenue for the territory. The family returned to Olympia's maple-lined streets. Inspecting distilleries and supervising regional deputies kept Stevens constantly on horseback, galloping among settlements in Rainier's long shadows. In his spare hours, he studied law under Elwood Evans, one of the territory's first attorneys and a former aide to his father. He passed the bar exam in 1870.

Ghostly Presence

Even Tacoma, Washington, 60 miles distant, offers views of Rainier when atmospheric conditions are right.



Suburb of Tacoma View of Mount Rainier, Washington.



Secure in their cave—though their clothes were sweat-drenched on one side and frozen on the other—the mountaineers woke nauseated from sulphur in the steam. Outside the wind was up, and the sky dark with storm clouds. Stevens scratched Coleman's name from their brass plate and returned to Crater Peak, wedging the memento and the canteen in a cracked boulder. He and Van Trump, seeing the third, lower peak from a distance, named it Takoma before reversing their path toward camp, 8,000 feet below.

Near the end of their long descent, Van Trump slipped, sliding 40 icy feet before loose rocks stopped him, in the process gashing his thigh. A few hours later, the two men hobbled into their empty camp. They were famished, but Sluiskin was out hunting. Stevens prepared a meal of marmot so offensive that Van Trump observed, "I don't think the General had taken an elaborate course in domestic science." When Sluiskin returned, he at first thought he was seeing ghosts, then praised Stevens and Van Trump as "strong men

with brave hearts." In the morning, the trio began trekking out, at Stevens's insistence following the Nisqually River basin. This route cut their time by a third, heightening Van Trump's suspicions that Sluiskin had taken the Tatoosh route out of greed. "It was a specimen of aboriginal graft," he wrote. At Bear Prairie they found Coleman, well-fed and in jolly spirits. The white men bid adieu to Sluiskin and after waiting out a three-day rainstorm, returned to Yelm.

Stevens and Van Trump arrived in Olympia a few days later by way of the Longmires' horse-drawn carry-all, their summit flags flying from the carriage. Lean and sun-scorched from the 240-mile journey, Stevens likened himself and his buddy to "veterans returning from an arduous and glorious campaign."

Given the mountain's reputation and their relative lack of

Tempting Target
Hazard Stevens eyed Mount Rainier for years before he and a partner completed an epic ascent.



Harbor View

An 1887 stereograph vividly illustrates the mountain's presence in the region.



Their St. Crispin's Day

At the Washington State Historical Society in Tacoma, Stevens, left, and Van Trump hold the flag they carried on their August 1870 ascent.

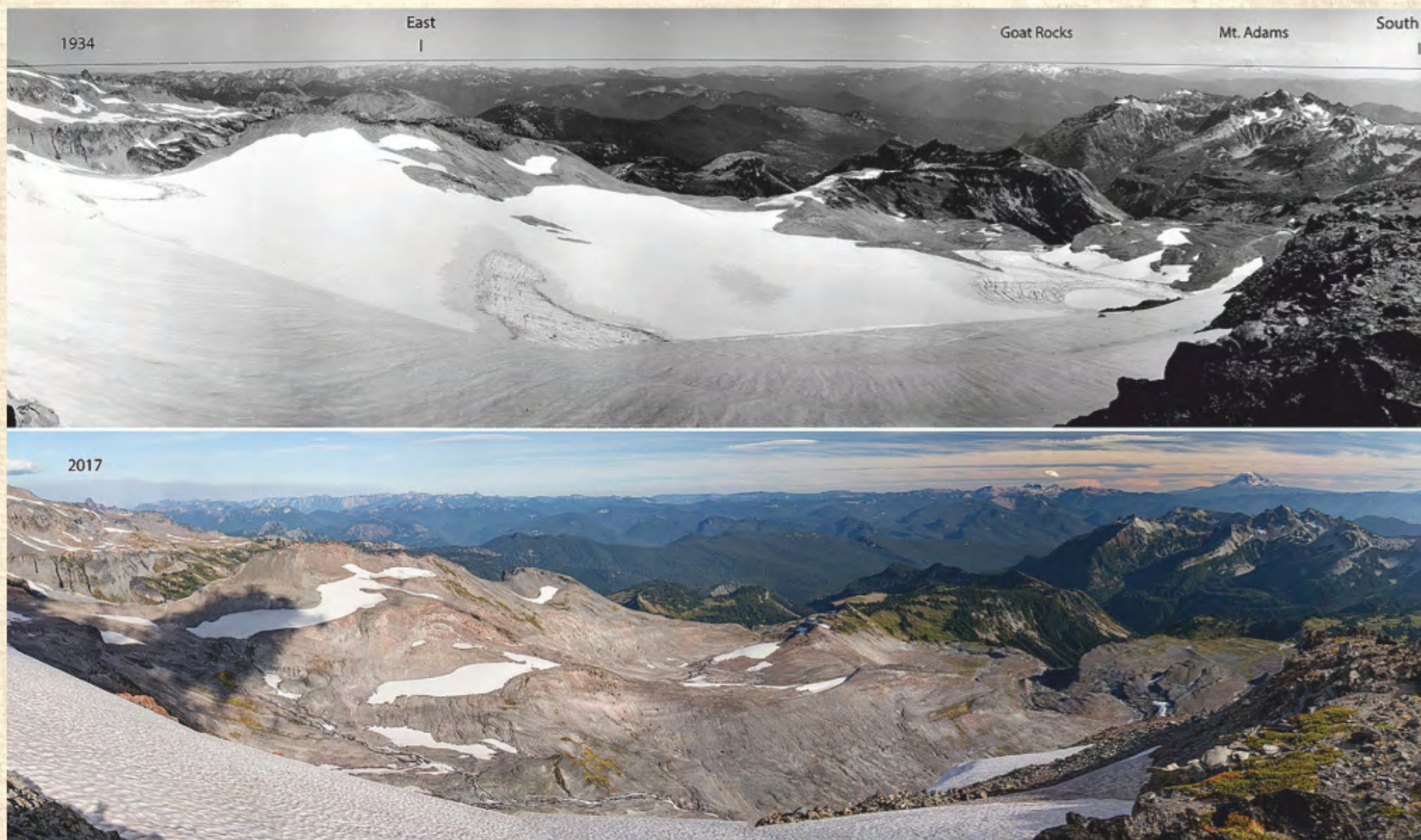
experience, not everyone believed their extraordinary feat. However, two months later, when a second party sought the Rainier summit, its members found the crevasse-crossing rope hanging where Stevens had left it. On subsequent ascents, Stevens and Van Trump would search for their plaque and canteen, but never find them.

The government hired Van Trump as the first ranger in what in 1899 would become Mount Rainier National Park. By 1900, more than 100 people had summited Rainier. A professional guide service established in 1905 brought those ranks to multiple hundreds. Van Trump remained at the center of a debate over the mountain's name, arguing passionately and in vain for preservation of the Indian appellation, Takoma.

Stevens's unexcused 17-day absence cost him his job as a federal revenue collector. He had his law license to fall back on, and went to work for the Northern Pacific Railway, chasing timber thieves. In 1874 President Ulysses S. Grant appointed him commissioner to investigate remaining British claims on the San Juan Islands, an archipelago on the Canadian border that had been awarded to the United States through international arbitration.

In 1875, the Stevens family again moved to Boston. Hazard Stevens opened a law practice and flirted with politics. In 1894, the U.S. Army awarded him the Medal of Honor for valor at Suffolk. Denied a generalship at the outbreak of the Spanish War, he published *The Life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens*, a passionate 1,000-page defense of his father's legacy, in 1901. Stevens never married. Still smitten with Rainier, he returned to Washington in 1916, living in Olympia. On October 11, 1918, less than two months after climbing to his base camp on Rainier at 76, the conqueror of the highest peak in the Cascades died.

He had fallen down the stairs of his farmhouse. ★



83 Years' Difference

A 1934 photo of Paradise Valley and Stevens glaciers, top, contrasts with the bare rock visible in 2017.

Melting Away

The white-capped world into which Hazard Stevens and Philémon Beecher Van Trump clambered is disappearing. Ice cloaked the Cascade Range long before Mount Rainier's volcanic cone rose 500,000 years ago. Although Rainier remains the most glaciated American peak outside Alaska, in the last 50 years its ice fields have shrunk at least 14 percent.

Four have disappeared.

Many scientists blame global warming. Since 1895 the average Pacific Northwest temperature has risen 1.4° Fahrenheit. Forecasting is difficult in regions where mountain and ocean weather systems collide, but digital models predict that this century will see temperatures continue to climb, with more precipitation taking the form of rain instead of snow.

This scenario spells trouble for Rainier's 26 named glaciers, formed in prehistory when heavy snowpack in the high, frozen reaches of the mountain compressed into slow-moving rivers of ice. When a glacial system is in balance, each winter new ice accumulates, keeping pace with losses incurred through summer melting at the system's foot. At Rainier, this is no longer happening. Between 1970 and 2008, only two of the peak's glaciers gained volume. For a decade, the Nisqually Glacier, on which Van Trump lost his climbing staff, has been shrinking in length an average 140 feet annually. The Paradise-Stevens Glacier, which feeds the waterfall that raged beside the first summiteers' base camp, has lost well over half of its mass and now comprises two stagnant ice fields.

Glacial melting is a part of normal climate variation; Rainier's glaciers have fluctuated in size for millennia. Thirty-five thousand years ago, the now four-mile long Cowlitz Glacier stretched 60 miles to the mountain's southeast. What's troubling today is the speed of melting—estimated at six times the historic rate—and the consequent dwindling of a vital regional water source.

Ecologists and engineers cringe at the long view. As temperatures rise and glaciers recede, so do the alpine and sub-alpine habitats of signature Rainier residents like pink mountain heather, a ground cover, and the shrill-whistling pika, a small herbivore. Accelerated run-off is dumping disproportionate amounts of debris—boulders, gravel, and silt glaciers scraped from the mountain as they creep—into the five major river systems that Rainier's ice fields feed.

As a result, river beds are rising; today's Nisqually flows some 40 feet higher than in 1910. Other streams are rerouting themselves, sometimes through trails, roads, and campgrounds. The National Park Service has built dikes and levees to protect key infrastructure and the settlement of Longmire, now 29 feet below the Nisqually. A major flood, like one in 2006 that did \$36 million in damage and closed the park for six months, easily could overwhelm these locales, threatening access for the 1.7 million people lured to the park annually by Rainier's ever-changing charms. —Jessica Wambach Brown

Passing Fancy

Belle Da Costa Greene, a black activist's daughter, reinvented herself on the other side of the color line
By Sarah Richardson

A small perfume bottle dyed green and labeled *Belle Haleine, Eau De Voilette*—"Beautiful Breath, Veil Water"—by iconoclastic artist Marcel Duchamp sold at auction at Christie's in 2009 for \$11,489,968. The title Duchamp gave this enigmatic *objet* is believed to allude to Belle Da Costa Greene, an imperious figure who ran J.P. Morgan's library, a few steps down Madison Avenue from the financier's former Manhattan residence. Fresh off the boat from France in 1915, Duchamp had needed money; a mutual acquaintance put him onto Greene, who in her capacity as Morgan's librarian hired the new arrival as a translator. Greene let Duchamp go after six weeks, a period during which Greene doubtless irked and intrigued the artist, as she did so many others. The bottle originally held a Rigaud brand perfume, *Un air embaumé*, and was made of peach-colored glass. Duchamp dyed the container green, perhaps an allusion to the Belle Da Costa Greene story as well as a play on her family name. Aficionados (see "Decoding Duchamp," p. 57) argue that in creating the work Duchamp was encoding references to his temporary patroness. The artist used the piece as an element on the cover of the only issue of the modernist magazine *New York DADA*, produced in collaboration with the versatile, innovative American artist Man Ray in 1921. He did not display the work until 1965, 15 years after Greene died.

Duchamp was among a circle of artists and scholars acquainted with the green-eyed Greene, who for her time lived the fast life. She dressed and behaved flamboyantly—drinking and smoking, traveling solo, enjoying numerous suitors, and conducting an affair with a married man. Greene had entered Morgan's orbit in 1905 through the banker's nephew, Junius Morgan, an acquaintance from her job. Greene and the younger Morgan, both bibliophiles, worked at the Princeton University Library in New Jersey. Introduced



Woman of the World
Greene was 34 when she sat for a portrait artist Paul Helleu, who rendered her as a chic figure in chalk on paper.

Race Man

As an African-American man, Richard Greener notched many firsts.

by Junius, Greene, who was 26 but claimed to be 23, hit it off with the 64-year-old tycoon. Morgan hired her as a librarian, in which role she not only oversaw and curated his burgeoning collection of antiquities but ran personal interference for and read aloud to “Big Chief,” as she called the Wall Street dynamo. Asked later if she had been one of Morgan’s many mistresses, Greene would laugh and say, “We tried.”

Feted for her professional acumen, wit, and style, Belle Da Costa Greene lived a life of self-invention, propelled by drive and audacity. She came of age at a time of particular poignancy, in her own life and in the nation’s, rising to a position of power and personal satisfaction rare for a woman of that time—or any time. Fortune brought her into contact with Junius Morgan; preparation readied her to wow his plutocrat uncle. The rest was Belle Greene’s doing. She survived two world wars and a depression, shepherding the Morgan Library for decades following its namesake’s death in 1913. Her secret, like Duchamp’s bottle, lay in the packaging.

Four decades before the youthful Belle arrived at the Morgan Library, Richard Greener, an African-American born in Boston in 1844 to free black parents, was trying to get into college. His paternal grandfather was an African-American

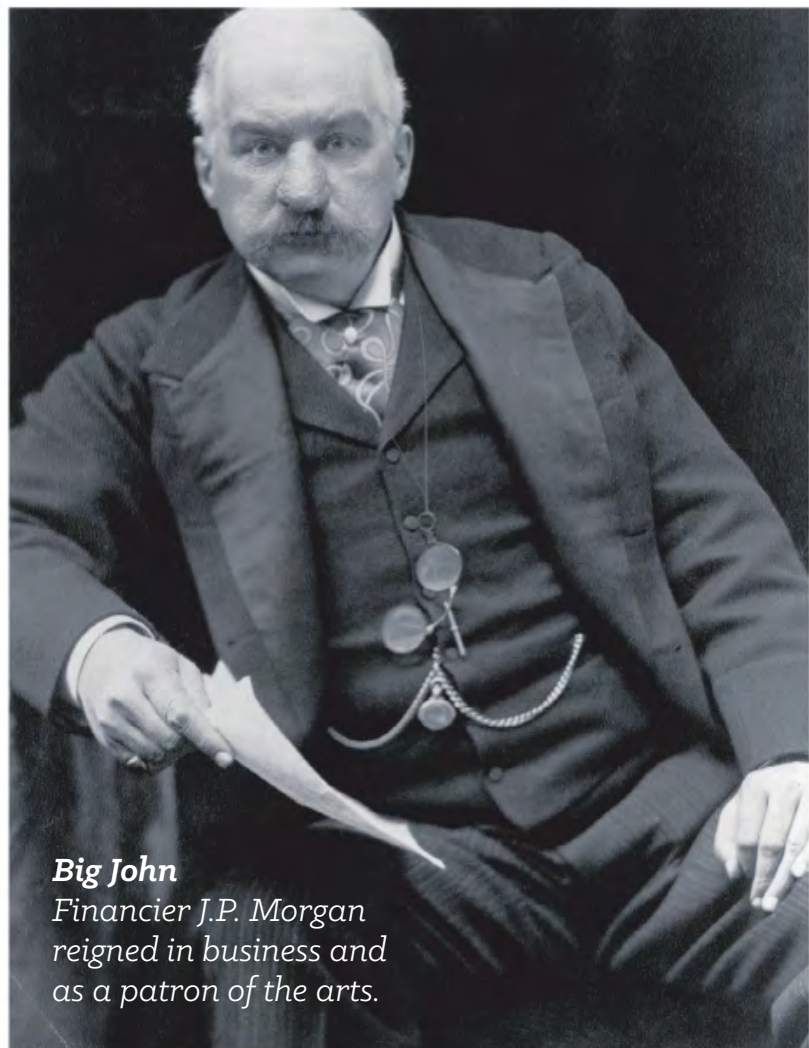


schoolteacher; his maternal grandfather was Spanish, from Puerto Rico. A ravenous reader, the youth, whose skin tone bespoke his mixed ancestry, took classes at Oberlin College and Dartmouth College and spent senior year at Phillips Andover Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, that elite school’s first black student. Mentors helped him gain admission to Harvard University, from which he graduated in 1870, another African-American first. Greener’s thesis, on Irish land tenancy, won that year’s Bowdoin Prize.

Upon graduation Greener moved to Philadelphia, where he became principal of a school. In that capacity he was part of a delegation that traveled to Washington, DC, to lobby President Ulysses S. Grant for a federal civil rights law. He and Grant became acquainted, and he also met and married Genevieve Ida Fleet, born into a well-educated, musically inclined, and light-skinned family of free blacks. In 1873, Greener accepted a professorship at the University of South Carolina at Columbia, which was integrating under Reconstruction-era federal oversight. Greener, the institution’s first African-American faculty member, taught, tutored under-prepared black students in Greek, Latin, math, philosophy, and logic, organized the university library, and earned a degree from the law school. He was so avid a book lover that he assembled a personal collection of African-Americana, including a copy of Benjamin Banneker’s 1792 *Almanac*. In 1876 he submitted a paper on “Rare and Curious Books” to the American Philological Association, to which he belonged.

In late 1876 the government began to withdraw federal troops from the South. By 1877 white supremacists again controlled South Carolina state institutions, driving blacks out of positions of influence. Greener moved Genevieve and their two children back to Washington, then to New York City, where he practiced law, wrote, and was a Republican activist. He managed the organization assigned to build a memorial to Ulysses Grant. His work required much travel, which along with other stresses shredded his marriage. By 1897, Greener was listing his address as his New York office; in 1898, he and Genevieve, now parents to five, separated formally. They never divorced. To support her offspring, Genevieve Greener taught music. New York lacking an official definition of race, she and her children apparently identified—and were identified by others—as white.

The fourth Greener child, Belle, received some training in library science. Heidi Ardizzone, author of a 2007 Belle Greene biography, *An Illuminated Life*, found Greener’s name on a list of students enrolled in a bibliography class at Amherst College’s Fletcher Summer Library School. Belle Greener also may have attended Teachers College at Columbia University. By the time Richard Greener’s olive-skinned daughter was applying for a job with Princeton University’s library in 1901,



Big John

Financier J.P. Morgan reigned in business and as a patron of the arts.

however, “Belle Greener” had vanished, replaced by “Belle Da Costa Greene.” She and her siblings had all plugged “Da Costa” into their names; should anyone remark on her complexion, Belle mentioned Portuguese ancestry.

Greene’s literary and artistic background may have produced the addition. In 1515 Flemish illuminator Simon Bening had created his masterpiece “Da Costa Hours” for a Portuguese family. The name means “of the coast,” implying borders between land and sea, fact and fiction, black and white, wealth and poverty.

White Belle Greene had options unavailable to black Belle Greener, especially in segregated Princeton, New Jersey. Hiring on at the university library, Greene roomed during the work week with a Princeton family; biographer Ardizzone suspects Greene’s hosts, who also had a library connection, may have been passing as well. Weekends Belle lived with her mother in an apartment on West 122nd Street near Columbia University on Manhattan’s Morningside Heights, an address Greene kept for years, even after going to work for Morgan.

From the start of her career with Morgan in 1906, Greene was an arts-and-lit “it girl.” Her love of fashion and flamboyance attracted invitations to sit for artists. Favoring fashionable gowns and pearls, she liked to say, “I am a librarian, but I don’t have to dress like one.”

Photographs and sketches abound that show her appearing cool, composed, and self-aware. Magazines featured the luminous, green-eyed gamine. As J. P. Morgan’s librarian, Greene commanded the cantankerous banker’s campaign to assemble a collection of artworks, books, and other antiquities he hungered for. She shared Morgan’s passion for medieval European art, particularly illuminated manuscripts. To advance the cause, she cultivated contacts and experts. She traveled to Europe, working her way into artistic and literary circles. She haggled. At least once, she smuggled. In 1910, the library acquired “Da Costa Hours.”

Greene could scarcely have landed in a more public, yet protected spot. In 1902 Morgan, a voracious collector of all kinds of art, had hired star architect Charles McKim to design a library adjacent to his home at Madison and 36th Street. Four years later, the magnificent result resembled a three-room palazzo of Renaissance Italy, with vaulted ceilings and two stories of glass-front bookcases to protect Morgan’s treasures. Greene told Morgan she wanted his library to be “preeminent,” hoping someday to outdo the British Museum and France’s Bibliothèque Nationale. Within two decades the Morgan collection comprised more than 46 illuminated manuscripts and nearly 5,000 books, as well as etchings and drawings. Morgan favored early European works and



Playing the Game
Belle Da Costa Greene employed high style as a sword and buckler in her efforts to advance.



The Man to See
Richard Greener, at right in his later years, had a key role in the effort to memorialize Ulysses S. Grant, whose tomb overlooks the Hudson River.





Sisterhood
Green, left, with Alice Carpenter, Katherine Kennicott Davis, and Maude Wetmore.

antiquities, but he also had corralled domestic treasures such as the diaries of Henry Thoreau and Nathaniel Hawthorne.

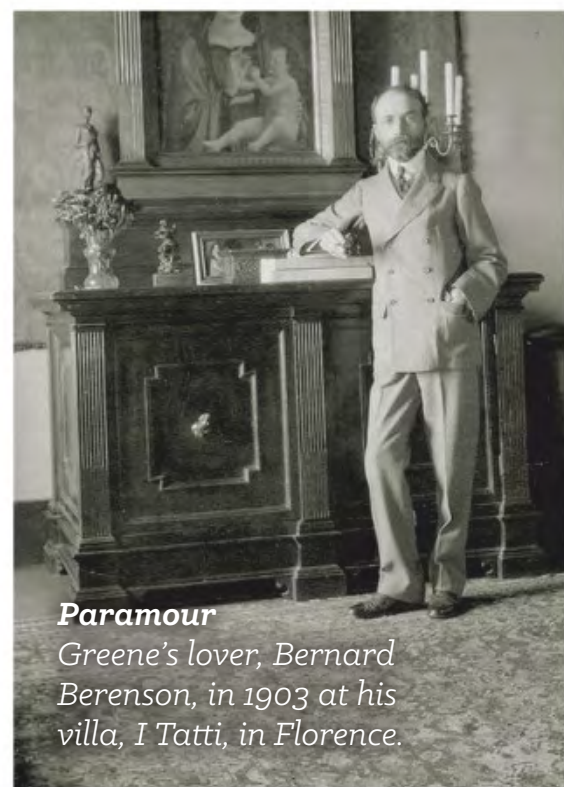
Among Greene's intimates was Bernard Berenson, a prominent art critic, appraiser, and philandering husband who spent most of his time in Italy and London. For years Greene and Berenson sustained an intense relationship, first as master and apprentice, becoming lovers in 1908, and ending as platonic friends. Greene burned Berenson's letters to her, but Mary Smith Berenson, who tolerated her husband's affairs, preserved correspondence to him, including Greene's—a kaleidoscopic showcase of an extravagant personality that really deserves a reading in full. In 1909, Greene wrote, "I wonder if any living being has greater imaginative powers than I." From a 1910 letter: "My fate is bound round my neck in bonds of iron, rather gold, glittering gold and locked with the Eternal \$."



Greene in miniature
painted on ivory
by Laura Coombs Hills

Greene never wrote about race and only seldom mentioned blacks; when she did, it was with an arch dismissiveness. Between the lines wavers a sense that the relationship soured after Berenson impregnated her, apparently resolved in England by an abortion—a procedure not readily available in the United States.

Berenson had his own identity issues. Born a Jew named Bernhard Valvrojenski in Lithuania in 1865, he was 10 when his family emigrated to Boston and changed its name and 20 when he was baptized an Episcopalian. Educated at Harvard,



Paramour
Greene's lover, Bernard Berenson, in 1903 at his villa, I Tatti, in Florence.

he lived his life as a Christian or secular European. Berenson and Greene remained in close contact throughout her more than three decades with the library.

No evidence exists that Greene discussed her ancestry with Berenson, although she did allude to gossip about herself, including other less than surreptitious romances. "I really had to laugh at your last letter complaining of all the scandal you were hearing about me—I suppose they say everything...but what difference does it make?" she wrote. "I've come to the conclusion that I really must be grudgingly admitted the most interesting person in New York, for it is all they seem to talk about—" The endlessly jealous Berenson, consumed with cupidity and curiosity, guessed to friends that his paramour had Malay blood. In a 1909 letter to Berenson, Boston art patron and client Isabella Stewart Gardner hinted at Greene's racial background, urging Berenson not to bruit her musings about. Decades later, speculation surrounding Greene still was percolating through a 1934 letter from a bookseller to Princeton librarian M.L. Parrish:

"Miss Bella [sic] da Costa Greene is fortyish with brown hair and wears horn-rimmed spectacles. My first impression of her was that she looked bloated as if she had a touch of dropsy or perhaps drank too much, although she is not overly heavy and still not thin. She has a bulbous nose (perhaps caught from the numerous photographs of her patron, many of which hang, stand and lie about her office) and her skin must be very swarthy, for, she wore white powder which made her look kind of speckled gray, like the negro you see pouring dusty cement into the mixers on building construction jobs. She was dressed in a sort of classic garment of black velvet relieved here and there by bits of char- treuse lace. She has short, stubby fingers and chews her nails—to the quick."

J.P. Morgan died in 1913. Greene fretted that son and heir Jack would abandon the library. She lobbied him to keep the operation going—and succeeded in building a close, jesting relationship. In 1924, for example, she writes, "In regard to the Tennyson items, which personally I loathe, it is a question of perfecting your already very

large and fine collection of imbecilities.” To which Morgan replies, “I reluctantly confirm that we ought to have the Tennyson idiocies.”

Greene ran the Morgan Library the rest of her life, not only organizing and constantly enlarging the collection but also directing its exhibitions and lecture programs. Her late employer had left her \$50,000—today, \$1.27 million. That largess enabled her to buy and combine two apartments into a residence for herself and her mother on 40th Street in Manhattan’s Murray Hill neighborhood, a few blocks from the Morgan Library. The inheritance and her library salary helped her and her family navigate Depression-era America.

All but one of Greene’s four siblings remained close by in New York. Nephew Robert—son of younger sister Theodora Genevieve, known as “Teddy”—had joined Belle’s household after his mother married for a second time in 1921. Belle became the youth’s legal guardian. Serving in the European theater during World War II, Robert committed suicide. That same year, Greene faced another crisis when Jack Morgan died unexpectedly of a stroke. She feared for the library’s future but her second patron had planned for his father’s creation to continue as a public institution, and Greene oversaw its shift in status and the appointment of her successor.

Over her 40-year career, Belle Greene achieved celebrity without revealing herself. Richard Greener, who never shied from revealing himself, passed nearly unnoticed into history.

Long after leaving the Palmetto State, Richard Greener referred to himself as a “South Carolinian in exile,” suggesting how he must have thrilled to the freedom and possibility

of his years there before bigotry renewed itself. Back in Washington, DC, with his wife and their children, Greener worked as a lawyer and dean of Howard University Law School. In 1881, he collaborated on legal appeals by the first two West Point cadets of African descent, Henry Ossian Flipper and Johnson Chesnut Whittaker—high-profile cases that involved false accusations of embezzlement and self-mutilation shot through with racism and expressive of the limits of legal redress then available to African Americans. Upon Ulysses Grant’s death in 1885, a commission formed to build a monument to the hero and former president. That body, whose membership included J. P. Morgan, invited Greener to become the commission’s only African-American participant and to manage day-to-day operations. The Greeners moved to New York City.

Greener was prominent enough in the black community to draw criticism for the comfort he displayed interacting with white elites; similarly, the ease with which Genevieve Greener and their children mingled with Caucasians had tongues wagging. Richard Greener did not shy from the spotlight aimed at black activists. He was paid for speaking engagements, including debates with Frederick Douglass, who was much his senior. Greener endorsed racial pride.

“The Negro in America was not to lose his identity by absorbing with the dominant race, but to endeavor to do something as a *Negro*,” Greener said in 1877. He wrote trenchantly on the topic. In “The White Problem,” an 1894 essay in the *Cleveland Gazette*, an African-American newspaper, he argued that blacks had established a decisive record of accomplishment and service, only to find their way barred by

Possible Inspiration

Greene may have taken her middle name from Flemish artist Simon Bening’s 15th century work, “Da Costa Hours,” an illuminated monthly calendar.





Bibliophilia Goes Big

Morgan spared no expense in acquiring or housing his collections of books and related artifacts.

white resistance: “If character, reputation, manly accomplishments, the heights reached, the palm won, still find any black hero a ‘marked man,’ because of no fault of his own, and church and society, home and club, united in thus ostracizing him and his children, then is it not demonstrated that it is not the Black but the White Problem, which needs most serious attention in this country?”

Greener was speaking and writing from painful experience. His multiple degrees and many achievements had been no guarantors of income. His support of causes as diverse as Irish independence and women’s suffrage put him at odds with the more cautious Booker T. Washington, who seemed never to support Greener and who in fact may have undermined the other man’s opportunities.

Greener’s constant struggle to support his family figured in his and his wife’s 1897 separation. Their children remained with her; he announced he would support them only to age 18. In 1898, in another first for his race, Richard Greener accepted a position as a U.S. government commercial agent. He was stationed at Vladivostok, Siberia.

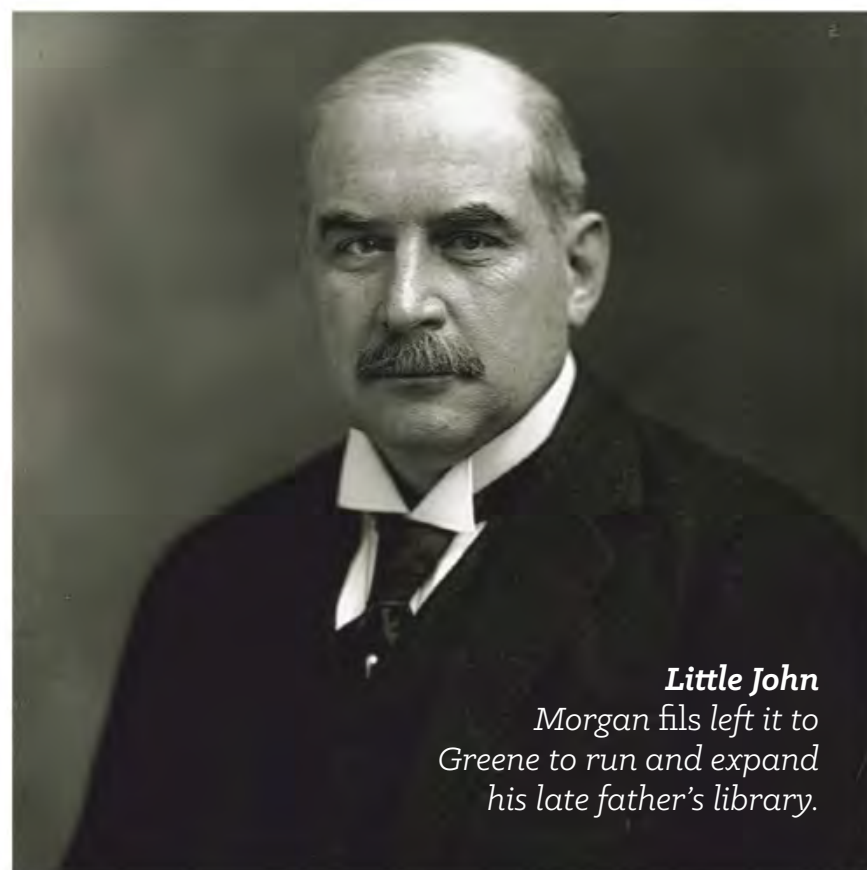
Around the time her father was moving out of the family home, college student Belle was, with her siblings and mother, living in Manhattan on West 99th Street, a white neighborhood, shortening the family name, and, in the 1890/1900 census, identifying as white—a declaration that may have been easier in New York City, whose population at

the time was less than 2 percent black. In this switch, the Greeners/Greenes were not alone in the United States. Between 1910 and 1920, 400,000 Americans of mixed racial background nationwide disappeared from census rolls.

In Russia, Greener began a second family with a Japanese woman. Explanations vary as to why he returned to the United States in 1905, according to Katharine Reynolds Chaddock, author of the only Greener biography, 2017’s *Uncompromising Activist*. The formerly high-profile figure, likely isolated by education and personal intensity, now had less interest in activism, although he offered to mediate between Booker T. Washington’s accommodationists and a harder-line wing led by W.E.B. DuBois. Greener helped draft the 1909 statement that led to the establishment of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. “I have never aspired to be a leader,” the frequent pioneer said. “I still believe and preach the doctrine that each man who raises himself elevates the race.”

Greener spent his final years living near the University of Chicago with three female cousins and working as a lawyer, lecturer, and newspaper essayist. He died in 1922 at age 78, his reputation gradually dimmed until 2014, when a cache of his diplomas and business documents turned up in an attic in one of the poorest neighborhoods on Chicago’s South Side. Harvard and the University of South Carolina acquired the materials and subsequently honored him—Harvard with a portrait in the Annenberg Library, the University of South Carolina with a nine-foot bronze likeness outside one of the campus libraries. None of the papers sheds light on Greener’s remove from his family with Genevieve.

Belle Greene burned her personal papers. She retired from the Morgan Library in 1948 but kept her hand in with regular



Little John

Morgan fils left it to Greene to run and expand his late father’s library.

visits. She was 71 when she died in 1950. Obituarists alluded to rumors about her family passing for white, but she seems never to have been identified publicly as Richard Greener's daughter—or privately by her long-time employer, who had known Greener in the 1880s, when they served together on the Grant memorial commission. The only record of contact between Greener and his American family is correspondence from Vladivostok with daughter Louisa. The connection between the sophisticated, stylish doyenne of the Morgan Library and the roving intellectual and activist was obscured until 1999, when J.P. Morgan biographer Jean Strouse found Belle Greener's 1879 birth certificate, which lists Richard Greener as her father. Father and daughter may have met once after he left the family; her biographer notes a passage in a letter alluding to a 1914 trip Greene made to Chicago "for important personal business" to meet in secret someone she had not seen in 20 years. Late in his life Greener enjoyed a loving correspondence with a daughter from his family in Siberia, who may never have known of her father's heritage and travails.

Parallels between Richard and Belle are unmistakable: love

of books, flamboyance, ebullience. The two also stand in contrast to one another. As Belle Da Costa Greene, Belle Greener never had to straddle boundaries of racial identity and community that entangled Richard Greener. She mostly eschewed politics, secure on her glittering perch—a position inconceivable for Belle Greener and her black father, who never concealed his ancestry. She had wealthy patrons; he stood alone, animosity all about him. Where Greene enjoyed extraordinary success and prosperity, Greener, unusually well-educated for his times and circumstance, frequently found himself excluded and often out of work. His activism on racial injustice threatened whites. His ease with whites aroused envy and suspicion among blacks. Sheltered by the Morgan fortune's aegis of wealth and privilege, Greener's daughter blossomed, achieving distinction for herself and the institution she directed. "But no one there could have been unaware of her taste, her intelligence, her dynamism," a *New York Times* critic wrote in 1949. "For it was Miss Greene who transformed a rich man's casually built collection into one that ranks with the greatest in the world."

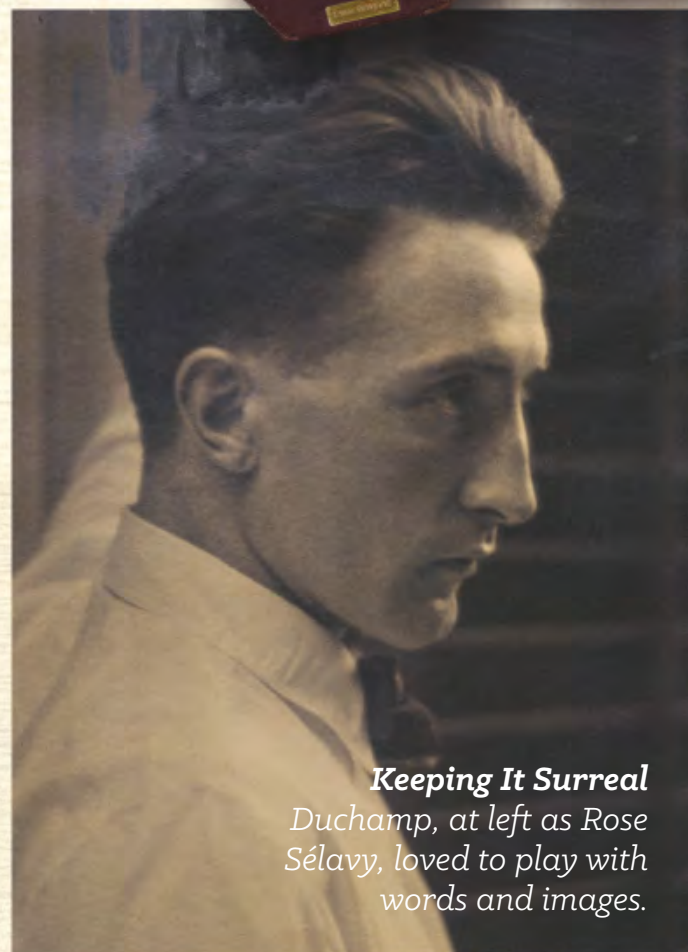
Her father would have been proud. ★

Decoding Duchamp



No other artist is as closely linked to conceptual art as Marcel Duchamp, who toyed with viewers' expectations, creating works that puzzled and infuriated, including pieces he termed "readymades," such as *Fountain*, a porcelain urinal he boldly submitted for display at a New York City exhibition in 1917. He also loved to fool with identity, famously creating his own alter ego, Rose Sélavy, as a play on the sounds of *Eros c'est la Vie* ("The passion of love, that's life"). Details encoded in Duchamp's *Belle Haleine* go beyond changing the bottle from orange to green. The label shows Duchamp dressing fashionably, as Belle Greene might. The title—*Belle Haleine*—is a play on the French dessert, *poire belle Hélène*, a chocolate-dipped pear. *Eau de Violette* is close to "eau de voile" meaning "veil-water," a possible reference to Greene's adopted middle name, Da Costa. A more intricate reference appears in a 1921 letter from Duchamp to artist Francis Picabia that includes a pun about "bitterness shrinking the Negro." Paleontologist and Duchamp decoder Stephen Jay Gould linked "shrinking" to Greene axing the "r" from Greener and the bitterness of blanching her blackness. All of this is conjectural. Another element to the puzzle is that *Belle Haleine* is also the first time Duchamp identified Rose Sélavy as "Rose," a hint that the added "r" might refer to the letter Belle Greener discarded to become Belle Greene. —Sarah Richardson

Layers of Meaning
Marcel Duchamp had a gift for layering meaning in works like *Belle Haleine*, right.



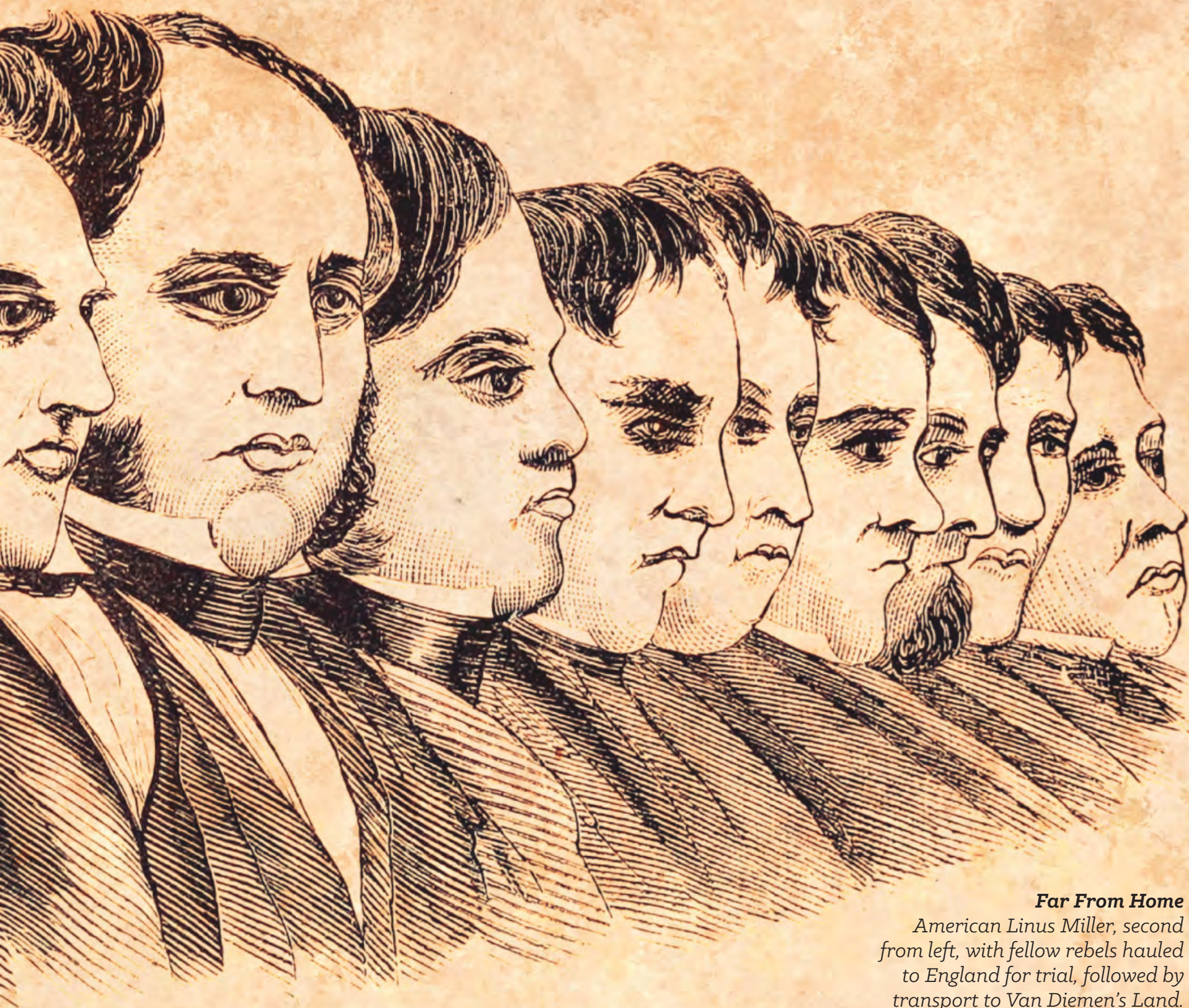
Keeping It Surreal
Duchamp, at left as Rose Sélavy, loved to play with words and images.



Hard Labor

Americans joining a rebellion against the Crown didn't expect to be sent to Australia
By Stuart D. Scott

CHARLES LINDSEY, THE LIFE AND TIMES OF WM. LYON MACKENZIE, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE CANADIAN REBELLION OF 1837, AND THE SUBSEQUENT FRONTIER DISTURBANCES, CHIEFLY FROM UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS. TORONTO: C.W. P.R. RANDALL, 1862; BOTTOM: WELLCOME COLLECTION/SCIENCE MUSEUM, LONDON



Far From Home

American Linus Miller, second from left, with fellow rebels hauled to England for trial, followed by transport to Van Diemen's Land.

On September 24, 1845, a late afternoon sun was lighting the waterfront sandstone warehouses of Salamanca Place, commercial hub of Hobart Town, the capital of Australia's far south island, Van Diemen's Land. Linus Wilson Miller, an American citizen, stood alone in the dockyards gazing at whalers and other vessels riding at anchor. The slim, cocky 24-year-old, a native of Stockton, New York, was to sail the next day, a free man returning to his homeland. Seven years earlier, Miller had entered into a desperate enterprise that led to trial, brutalities, and

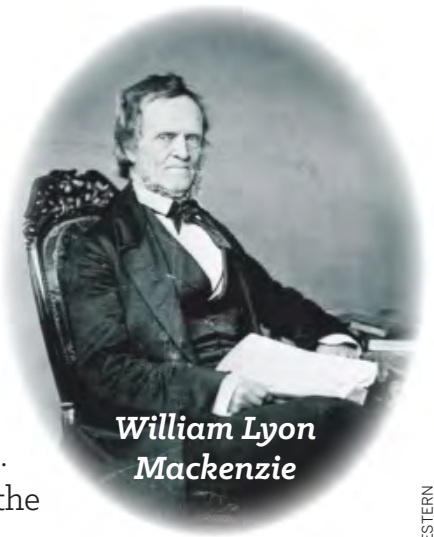
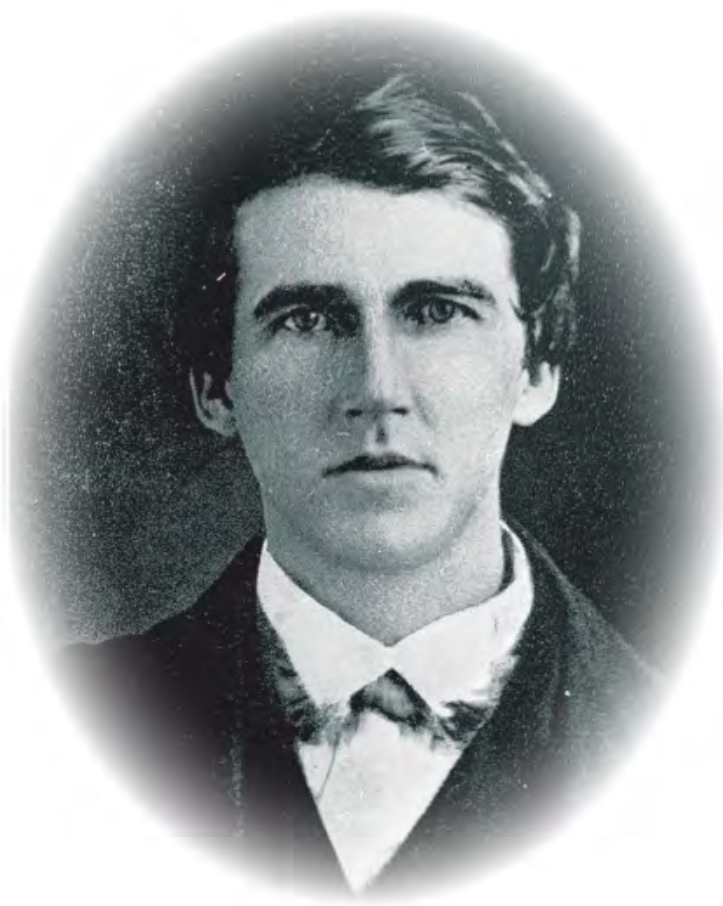
confinement in Canada and England, and finally prison in Australia's penal colony on the island, better known to its convict population as "Van Demon's Land."



Miller's odyssey started December 5, 1837, with an armed populist uprising in Toronto, in what was then the British Colony of Upper Canada. Rebels, some armed only with pitchforks, wanted more

Shackled Securely

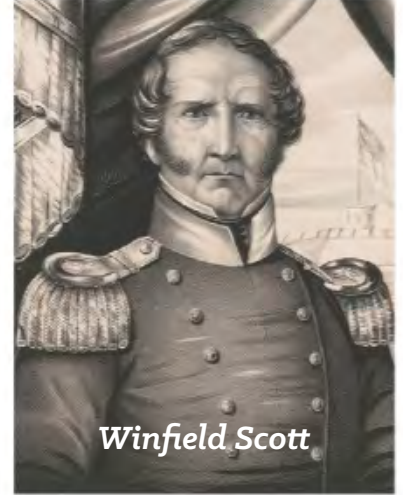
Inmates at ancient and notorious Newgate Prison in London endured physical restraints like these.



William Lyon Mackenzie

regulars harassed the rebels with cannon and musket fire. For supplies, the insurrectionists were relying on *Caroline*, a privately chartered steam vessel flagged in the United States. Rebel resolve persisted until the night of December 29, 1837, when a Canadian attack sent *Caroline* drifting in flames toward Niagara Falls. One man died. “BUTCHERED IN COLD BLOOD” shrieked the *Buffalo Journal*, dramatically multiplying the number of casualties. Similar exaggeration by border newspapers from Michigan to Vermont fired and reinforced the emotions of young American men, many as adrift as their Canadian cousins. As young Buffalo diarist Mary Peacock wrote, “The war in Canada has so affected and excited the people in this city that it is a subject of some doubt where it will end and in what manner...”

To settle matters on Navy Island, U.S. President Martin Van Buren dispatched General Winfield Scott. The celebrated military leader convinced the rebels on the island to relent.



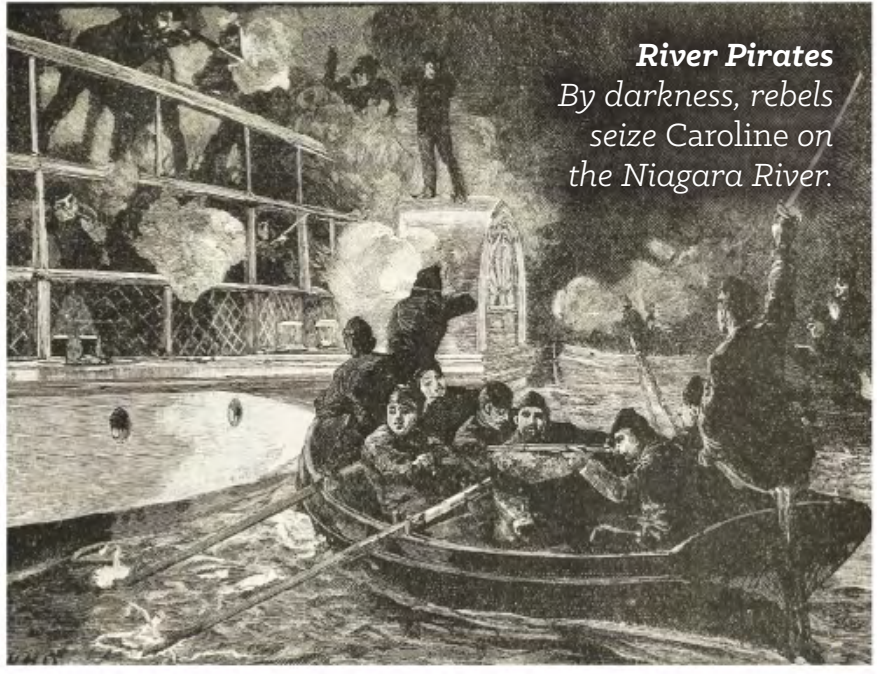
Winfield Scott

However, an underground paramilitary calling itself “the Hunters” had formed secret lodges in border states. Unemployed fellows, some acting out of democratic impulse, others drawn by the outfit’s promises of land and gold, swelled the Hunters’ ranks.

Asserting themselves to be servants of Canadian independence, Hunters and other Americans organized into an amateur “Patriot Army” that through 1838 carried on a sustained, if ramshackle, campaign of cross-border raids, each in succession defeated by superior British forces.

Ill-Considered Gesture

Empathetic with Canadian nationalism, Miller cast his lot with the losing side.



River Pirates
By darkness, rebels seize Caroline on the Niagara River.

representation in their government, at the time controlled by the lieutenant governor in cahoots with a ruling oligarchy. Amid a dire economic crisis gripping the region as well as the adjoining portion of the United States, Canada’s elite, the rebels claimed, were denying ordinary people, many of them out of work and destitute, a say in land policies, religion, and politics. Upper Canada was split between its haves and its have-nots.

Authorities quickly quashed the Toronto uprising. Many rebels and their leader, William Lyon Mackenzie, crossed the Niagara River into the United States, where their cause had sympathizers. At Buffalo, New York, Mackenzie fired up more support, and with their newfound allies he and his men seized and fortified British-owned Navy Island, a speck in the Niagara—declaring the island to be the new “Republic of Canada.” Canadian militiamen and red-coated British

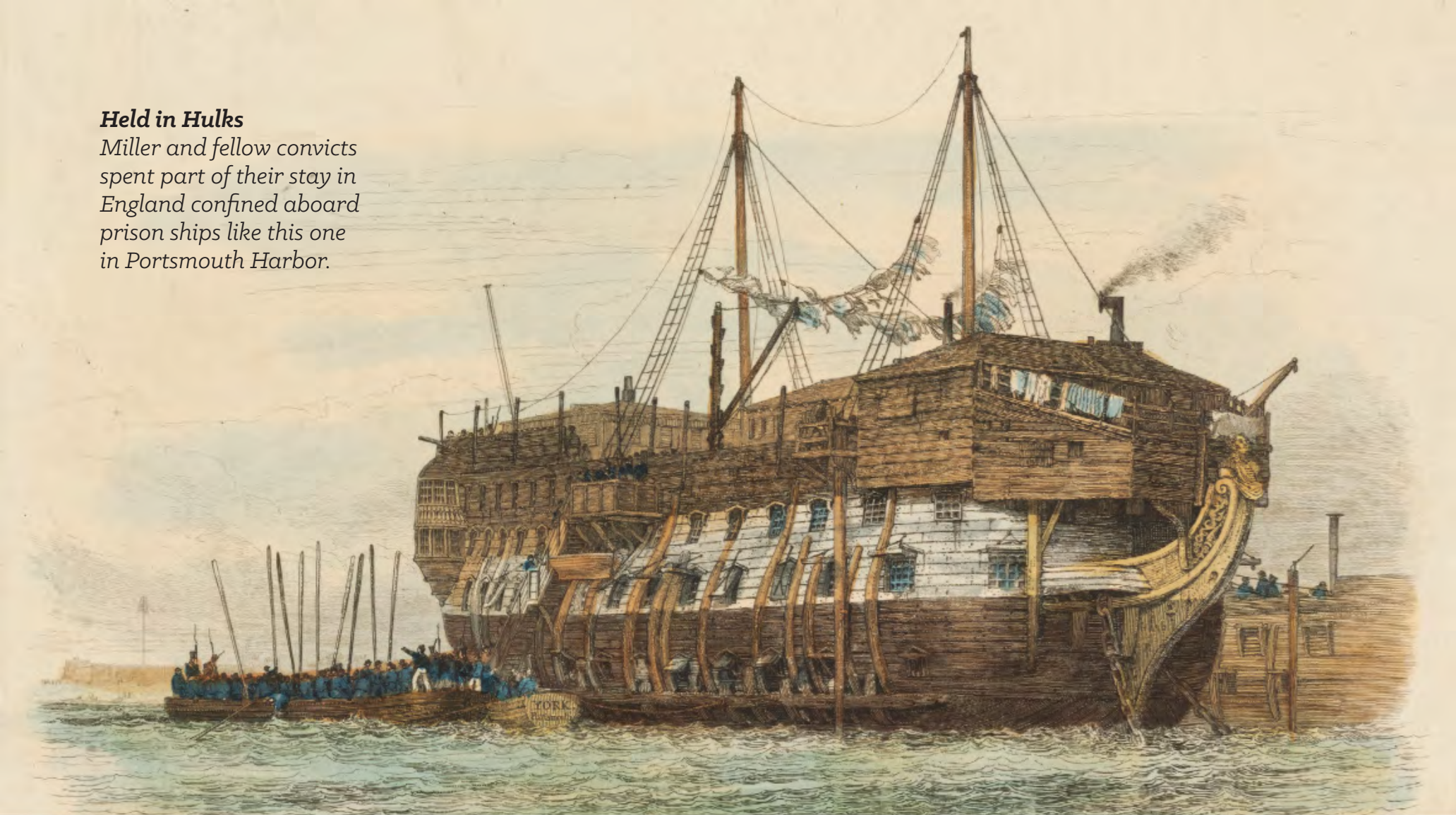


Counterattack
Crown troops defeat rebels at Dickinson Landing.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: WESTERN ARCHIVES REGIONAL PHOTOGRAPH COLLECTION/ARCHIVES AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, WESTERN LIBRARIES, WESTERN UNIVERSITY; RC20383; LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA, C-001993; LIBRARY OF CONGRESS; JOHN RICHARD COKE SMYTHE/LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA, RL3133-309-4-E; J. F. SMITH, WILLIAM HOWITT, AND JOHN CASSELL, JOHN CASSELL'S ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF ENGLAND, LONDON: W. KENT AND CO, 1909

Held in Hulks

Miller and fellow convicts spent part of their stay in England confined aboard prison ships like this one in Portsmouth Harbor.



Hazel-eyed Linus Miller, six feet tall and 20 years old, with brown hair and whiskers, joined one such invasion. An upstate country boy from Stockton who wanted to be an attorney, he was in Maysville, New York, reading the law when he surrendered to the excitement spreading across New York's western frontier over Canadians' determination to establish their own government. Miller volunteered to join the fight. He crossed onto the Canadian Niagara Peninsula in advance of a Patriot Army invasion planned for July 4, 1838.

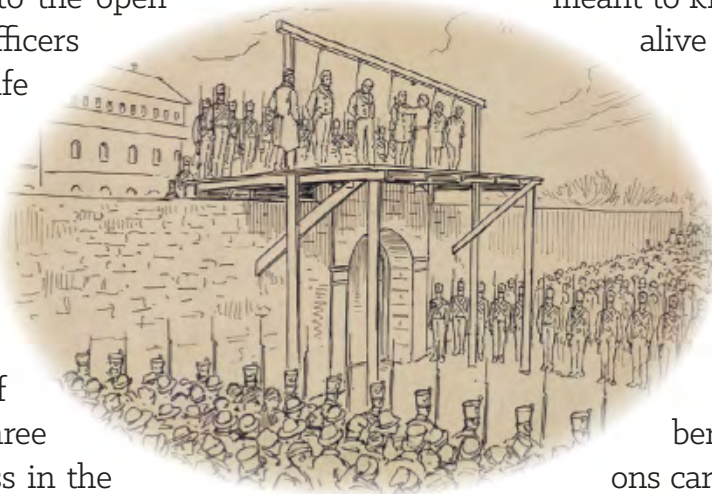
When the attack stuttered and failed, Miller tried to return to the United States but found the border too closely guarded. He rejoined the raiders, now being pursued by loyalist militia. "Little did I dream of the dark cloud which was fast gathering Sover my head," he wrote later. Miller hid in patches of woods until he had no choice but to take to the open road, where a pair of British cavalry officers took him prisoner. On trial for his life at Niagara on charges of sedition, Miller, drawing on his legal training, at first made a bold defense, but then, at his lawyer's suggestion, pleaded insanity, to no avail. After hanging insurgent James Morreau, Canadian authorities set a date of August 25, 1838, to hang Miller and three compatriots. "There was no bitterness in the thought; no regret that I had joined my fate with the struggling Canadians," Miller wrote in his basement cell. "For conscience told me I had done my duty, fearlessly and faithfully." Intercessions by friends and family led officials to

commute his death sentence and 12 others to transportation to Van Diemen's Land—now Tasmania—for life (see "Propulsive Punishment," p. 63). Miller felt relief but, he wrote much later, "could I have foreseen one fourth part of the sufferings which that commutation entailed on me, I would certainly have preferred immediate death."

The prisoners to be transported were held for nearly three months at Fort Henry near Kingston, Canada, before being shipped by steam vessel to Quebec.

On November 22, 1838, riveted into irons pinioning them hand and ankle, 33 rebels were ferried to the three-masted *Captain Ross*, about to depart Quebec harbor for Liverpool, England. The men crowded into a fetid, dark hold 12 by 14 feet. "I was horror stricken," Miller wrote. "I always knew they

meant to kill us, but didn't think of being buried alive in such an infernal hole as this!"



Less Than Lucky
Some convicted rebels were hanged on a gibbet outside Montreal Gaol.

The prisoners were 25 days crossing the Atlantic. Britons had been following the Canadian border disturbances in sensational newspaper coverage, so when the shackled North Americans stepped onto a quay at Liverpool on a chilly December morning they had an audience. Wagons carried the prisoners to a jail where, in a spacious yard, guards unshackled and unchained the men. Magistrates addressed them in not unkindly terms. "We were soon made to feel that we had come less to a land of strangers than of friends," Miller wrote. He and his companions



A Green and Not Very Pleasant Land

Britain had been transporting convicts for decades. Here, prisoners arrive on Van Diemen's Land in 1804.

expected their sentences to be appealed in *habeas corpus* hearings, but for that to occur the convicted rebels had to travel by train to London, arriving in January 1839 at Newgate Prison. "The massive doors were unbarred to welcome us," Miller wrote. "We were again buried in a living tomb." Daily guards released the men for appearances in Westminster Hall. In May the court upheld Miller's and many others' convictions, remanding the prisoners to custody to await transportation. "During this long and anxious period, our suffering arising from hope deferred and the uncertainty of the future, were often intense and severe," the former rebel wrote.

From London authorities moved the convicts to Portsmouth, in Miller's words "an exceedingly filthy seaport town." Fellow prisoners rowed them to *York*, a Royal Navy man-of-war reduced to service as a prison hulk. Trustees removed the

prisoners' irons, sheared their hair, confiscated all money and tobacco, and ordered them to strip and wash in a large, dirty cistern, "in which the whole van-load of prisoners had cleansed their filthy carcasses," Miller observed.

Until they sailed for Australia, prisoners awaiting transportation had to work at hard labor. Miller "began to learn that a prisoner must have no will of his own, no feelings, no soul: the discipline to which he is subjected, being intended not only to torment the body, but to crush and destroy all those attributes which constitute the man as distinguished from the brute." Nightly, exhausted, cold and hungry, hands and feet blistered from toil, the men of *York* squeezed into tiny hammocks to roost. Meals were as squalid as the conditions: porridge for breakfast, a ship's biscuit for lunch, dinner of a pint of watery soup, a half-pound of salt beef that was mostly bone, and a pound of "brown tommy" bread. "I do not exaggerate, when I assert that swine, in my own country, would not eat it unless half starved," Miller wrote.

In September 1839, *York* emptied its human contents into the 500-ton merchantman *Canton* for passage to Van Diemen's Land and the intervening punishment of sea travel. "No sooner were the sails unfurled, than sea-sickness commenced, and in a short time became general," Miller recalled. "Accounts were cast up' without ceremony, not only on the floor but in the berths; and our apartment was rendered truly horrible. An entire week passed before it could be properly cleansed." Miller and fellow rebel prisoners were traveling with civilian felons who also were paying for their crimes

Far Side of the World

Hobart's peaceful seaside mien stood at odds with the town's punitive role.



with transportation for life.

The voyage, by way of Africa's southern tip, took months. The climate shifted from the temperate zone's cold and winds to calm, insufferable heat in equatorial waters. As political prisoners, Miller and companions enjoyed small entitlements resented by the 240 thieves and murderers also aboard. The other men made their ire known. "The most horrible blasphemy and disgusting obscenity, from daylight in the morning till ten o'clock at night were, without one moment's cessation, ringing in my ears," Miller wrote.

Time crept by, slowed in perception by confinement, rampant dysentery, and seasickness. Two men died; with shot-weighted hammocks for coffins, they were committed to the deep. "The board was raised, a plunge succeeded, and the slight ripple of the parted waves, as we sailed on, soon disappeared," Miller wrote in his memoir.

A lookout sighted mountainous Van Diemen's Land in January 1840, signaling the imminent end of a pounding four-month, 16,000-mile voyage. Their first day ashore, bodies swaying on sea legs, the convicts formed a ribbon staggering toward the "Tench," as Hobart Town's massive stone prison compound was known. A man died; ordered to bury the corpse, Miller wrote, friends found the unfortunate's body "cut in many pieces, with its entrails lying beside it. They gathered up the pieces together and put them in a coffin of rough boards... carried him away and laid him in a stranger's grave..."

Summoning memories of his legal studies, Miller drafted a petition requesting liberal treatment for political prisoners. The authorities denied the petition, sending the former rebels into the "probation" system—two years as gang laborers. Their first task was felling, trimming, and shaping trees into ships' spars and hauling the finished product to the camp's headquarters. Subsequently the men worked dawn to dark breaking and hauling stones for road building. Rations were slight, clothing insufficient, and hunger constant, according to Miller.

The punitive routine was literally killing. Nine American captives died of disease, quarry explosions, lumbering accidents, and being run over by loaded carts.

A man who displayed good behavior during the probationary period stood to earn a ticket-of-leave. Ticket holders could seek



So Far From Home
The view from a cell at Campbell Street Prison in Hobart conveys the exile's loneliness.



Propulsive Punishment

Britain's punitive system of transportation evolved out of 16th-century Poor Laws enacted during a time of widespread crime and deep poverty. A 1579 law applying to "Rogues, Vagabonds, and Sturdy Beggars," besides enumerating standard penalties for various crimes, directed that offenders who appeared dangerous or unredeemable be committed to jail and if deemed necessary, through a further court ruling be "banished...and conveyed...beyond the seas." Such enforcement was scant until the early 1600s, when courts sent felons and petty thieves to the American colonies to empty packed English jails. Transported prisoners were auctioned as indentured servants, providing much needed labor in the growing colonies. The 1718 Transportation Act provided for official contracts with ship owners to transport prisoners, increasing the volume of men and women sent to North America for terms of seven to 14 years, after which they could return home. The Revolution ended use of the colonies as a pressure relief valve for Britain's social ills. As prisons overflowed, the 1776 Hulks Act provided for the recycling of decommissioned ships-of-the-line as prisons, with inmates released by day to work at hard labor, an arrangement maintained until 1857. In the late 18th century the Crown answered a renewed need for punitive transportation by designating Australia, on the Empire's distant frontier, as a locus to which criminals of every stripe were to be banished. In 1787, the first thieves, poachers, embezzlers, murderers, and political prisoners went to Botany Bay. In 1803 transportation shifted to Van Diemen's Land, now Tasmania, a flow kept up until 1853. The majority of transported prisoners died in exile or chose never to return to their homelands, making transportation a life sentence.

—Stuart D. Scott



work for wages under the jurisdiction of district police magistrates. Continued good behavior could gain a prisoner a full pardon.

Miller decided to escape.

Taking insanely bold and impossible flight, Miller and fellow exile Joseph Stewart sneaked away from a probation station. The two roamed for days until, demoralized and exhausted, they fell asleep and were caught by searchers. The escape attempt drew them reassignment to Port Arthur, a fearful and barbarous place in southern Van Diemen's Land Australia that reserved as a location at which to confine hardened criminals. "I can expect no quarter," Miller told himself. "I am an American citizen—I am a British Slave."

Convicts at Port Arthur worked at hard labor in the forest. The



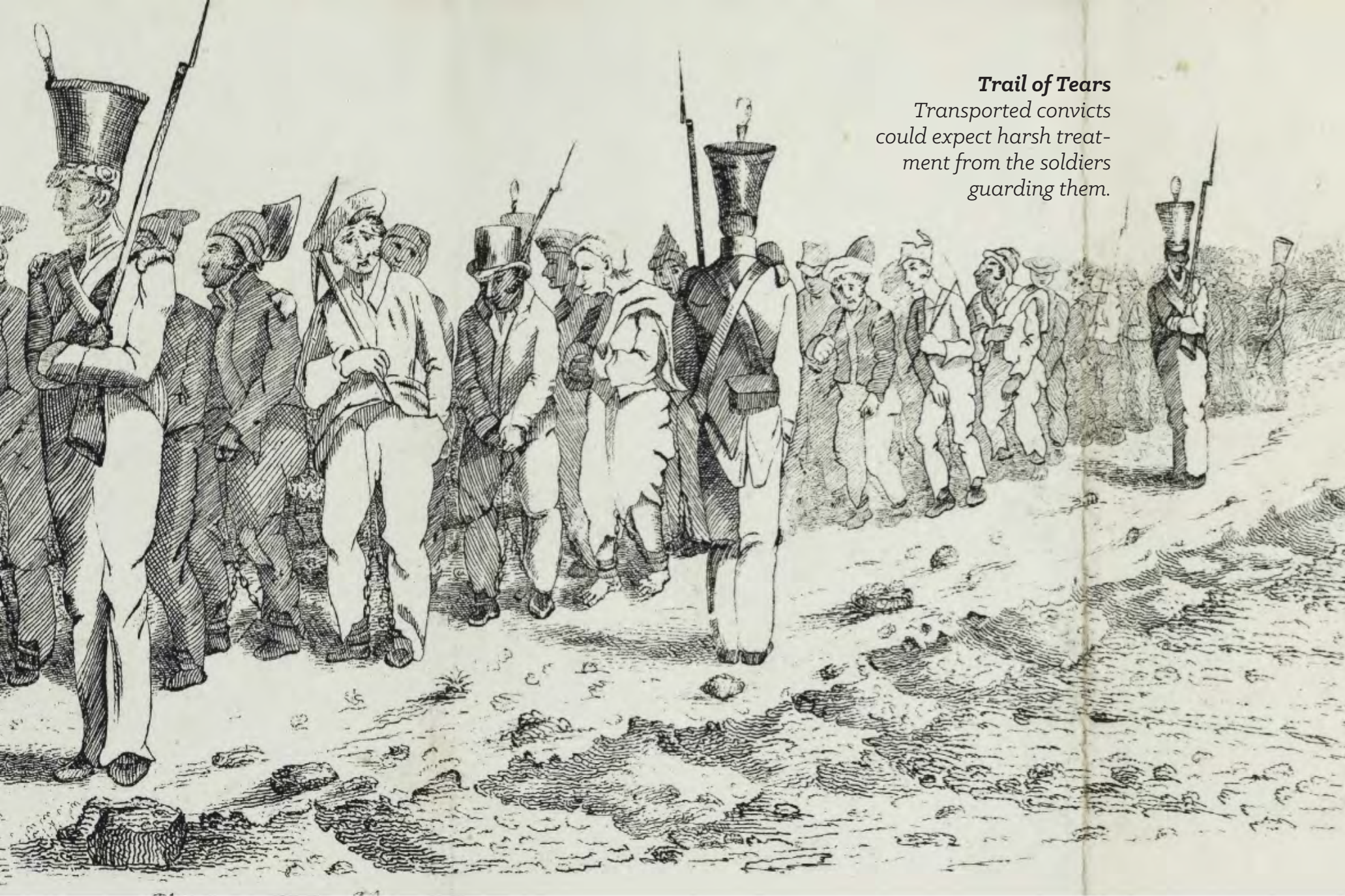
People Power

On Van Diemen's Land administrators rode in carts propelled by convict muscle.

Buzz Kill

Prisoners' bumblebee garb kept them from blending in.





Trail of Tears

Transported convicts could expect harsh treatment from the soldiers guarding them.

six-foot Miller felt the fullest weight of the 300-lb. logs he and shorter crewmates staggered under through dense brush. To collapse was to earn a flogging. On a visit to Port Arthur, Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Franklin pulled Miller from a lineup to berate his Yankee prisoner.

"I am glad, very glad that you are here, in my power where there is no escape," Franklin said. "I'll break your American spirit. I'll break your low republican independence." Miller felt himself give up.

However, he began to catch breaks. The station surgeon reassigned him from the lumber detail to the garden and laundry. He then clerked for the chaplain and tutored the commissary officer's children. Good behavior and favorable impressions earned Miller a ticket-of-leave and relocation to Hobart Town, where in summer 1843 he undertook a clerkship in the law. His nemesis Franklin was reassigned, and Franklin's replacement as lieutenant governor began to cultivate a friendship with Miller.

In February 1845 Miller received a full pardon for his 1838 infractions. Seven months later, having arranged to pay his passage by giving the ship's captain a promissory note,

Miller sailed east on *Sons of Commerce*. "To describe my feelings on leaving Van Diemen's Land, would be impossible," he recalled. "The remembrance of all my dreadful sufferings, the persecutions of my enemies, the kindness of my friends, and the forlorn condition of my less fortunate comrades, came up before me, and I am not ashamed to acknowledge, that I paced the deck for some time, my breast heaving with uncontrollable emotions, and tears gushing from the eyes, in spite of my efforts to restrain them."

At Pernambuco, Brazil, Miller transferred to *Globe*, an American bark that was bound for Philadelphia. From that city he rode by train to Stockton for a reunion with family and friends. He married, fathered five children, and spent the rest of his life farming and dairying. An unapologetic rebel, Miller lectured on the patriot experience and the horrors of transportation. When his "Notes of An Exile" was published in 1846, the first 2,000 copies sold out within weeks.

"Uncle Linus" became known as "the famous adventurer of the family." By 1880, the year Linus Miller died, Canada had reformed its system of governance and long since forgotten the Rebellion of 1837. ★

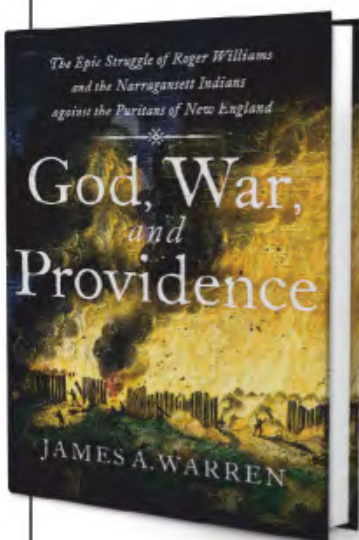


Linus Wilson Miller
in later years

Welcome, Stranger
Roger Williams meets
Narragansetts as he
alights ashore after
being booted from
Massachusetts.



PICKING FIGHTS WITH PURITANS



God, War and Providence: The Epic Struggle of Roger Williams and the Narragansett Indians against the Puritans of New England

By James A. Warren
Scribner, 2018; \$30

“In America, they have a feast to celebrate the arrival of the Pilgrims,” English essayist G.K. Chesterton wrote of Thanksgiving. “We should have a feast to celebrate their departure.” Had the Puritans quit Plymouth and sailed home, the Narragansett might well have inaugurated an annual celebration, motivation for which Warren, author of *American Spartans*, amply chronicles.

God, War and Providence is iconoclastic without being simplistic. Warren easily could have delivered a 17th century take on *Dances with Wolves*. Instead he depicts a complex of shifting alliances and rivalries enmeshing no less than a dozen European colonies and native tribes, each acting at least as a semi-independent power and interacting with one another in every direction.

Only occasionally does Warren’s commendable grasp of nuance yield to his sympathy for Rhode Island’s early colonizers and for the

Narragansett Indians and to his (generally justified) reservations about those who most consistently and powerfully opposed Williams’s immigrant cohort and the Narragansetts.

Warren shows how ethnic conflict shaped 17th century New England, at times coming to the fore and impelling many of the period’s more severe injustices and atrocities. He clarifies that ethnic conflict ultimately was a secondary factor in early European encounters with Native Americans that saw colonists and Native Americans angle to enlist “foreign” allies against rivals of their own races.

Unlike most commentators, Warren observes that Native Americans were often happy to welcome Europeans when tactically useful. Less unusual but of equal importance is the fact that colonists and Native Americans often were willing to treat internecine enemies as ruthlessly as they did outsiders, with the dreadful exception of certain colonists’ taste

for genocide against indigenes with whom they were warring.

Subtitle aside, *God* thoroughly examines 50 crucial years of New England history, using Williams and the Narragansett as a reference point from which to portray a much broader range of events. —**James Baresel is a freelance writer living in Virginia.**

GOING GLOBAL

Popular accounts have America gaining independence by beating Britain, the world's greatest military power, with some help from France. Early histories told the story with a fair degree of accuracy. By the 19th century, however, even distinguished American scholars were writing a patriotic narrative that mostly ignored fighting outside North America. In fact, the Revolution was a genuine global conflict in which Britain fought alone, an often unfamiliar but fascinating story recounted in these 15 essays by Europeans, Americans, and one Indian historian.

Charmed by Ben Franklin and encouraged by the 1777 British surrender at Saratoga, France declared war in 1778, followed by Spain in 1779, recasting British priorities.

Number one was fending off an invasion France and Spain planned but never executed. Almost as critical was protecting British commerce—West Indian sugar islands and India were more valuable than the rebel colonies—and military bases like Gibraltar, which Spain immediately besieged.

We dismiss Spain, which ruled North America west of the Mississippi, as France's bumbling junior partner, but the Spanish historian makes a case that Spain gave a good account of itself. Bernardo de Galvez, Spanish governor of Louisiana, kept Britain out of the Mississippi, defeating several invading expeditions. He captured Mobile in 1780 and Pensacola in 1781, major British defeats that left the Royal Navy no bases on the Gulf Coast.

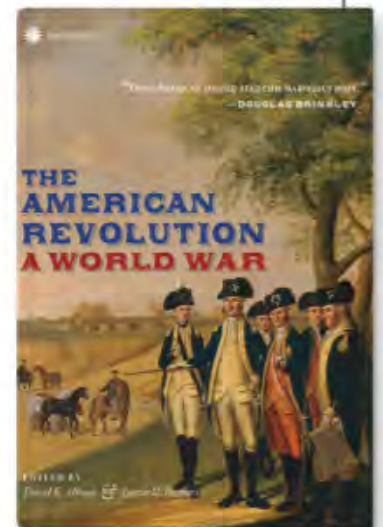
American readers accept that French historians credit their homeland for our independence. However, they may blanch at his

latter-day countrymen's disrespect for Lafayette, dismissed as an energetic self-promoter who charmed Washington, burnished his reputation in unreliable memoirs, and, after an iconizing 1824-25 national tour, became America's favorite revolutionary Frenchman.

Eclipsed as a major sea power, Holland remained commercially prosperous, trading energetically with the rebel colonies until 1780, when an exasperated Britain declared war, devastated the Dutch merchant fleet, and captured many Dutch colonies.

Even after Cornwallis's 1781 surrender, the siege of Gibraltar continued, and major sea battles took place. French and British fleets fought to a draw off India but in the West Indies France, despite capturing many British sugar islands, lost. Superficially, the 1783 peace benefited France and Spain—France got back many privileges and colonies lost in the Seven Years War; Spain regained Florida—but both nations were exhausted and bankrupt.

Losing the American colonies rankled Britain's banking system, but the economy handled the war's huge cost. By conflict's end the Royal Navy ruled the seas. Britain soon had a bigger empire than before and the 19th century proved a happy time. Mildly humbling for Americans, this volume offers good, insightful history. —**Mike Oppenheim writes in Lexington, Kentucky**



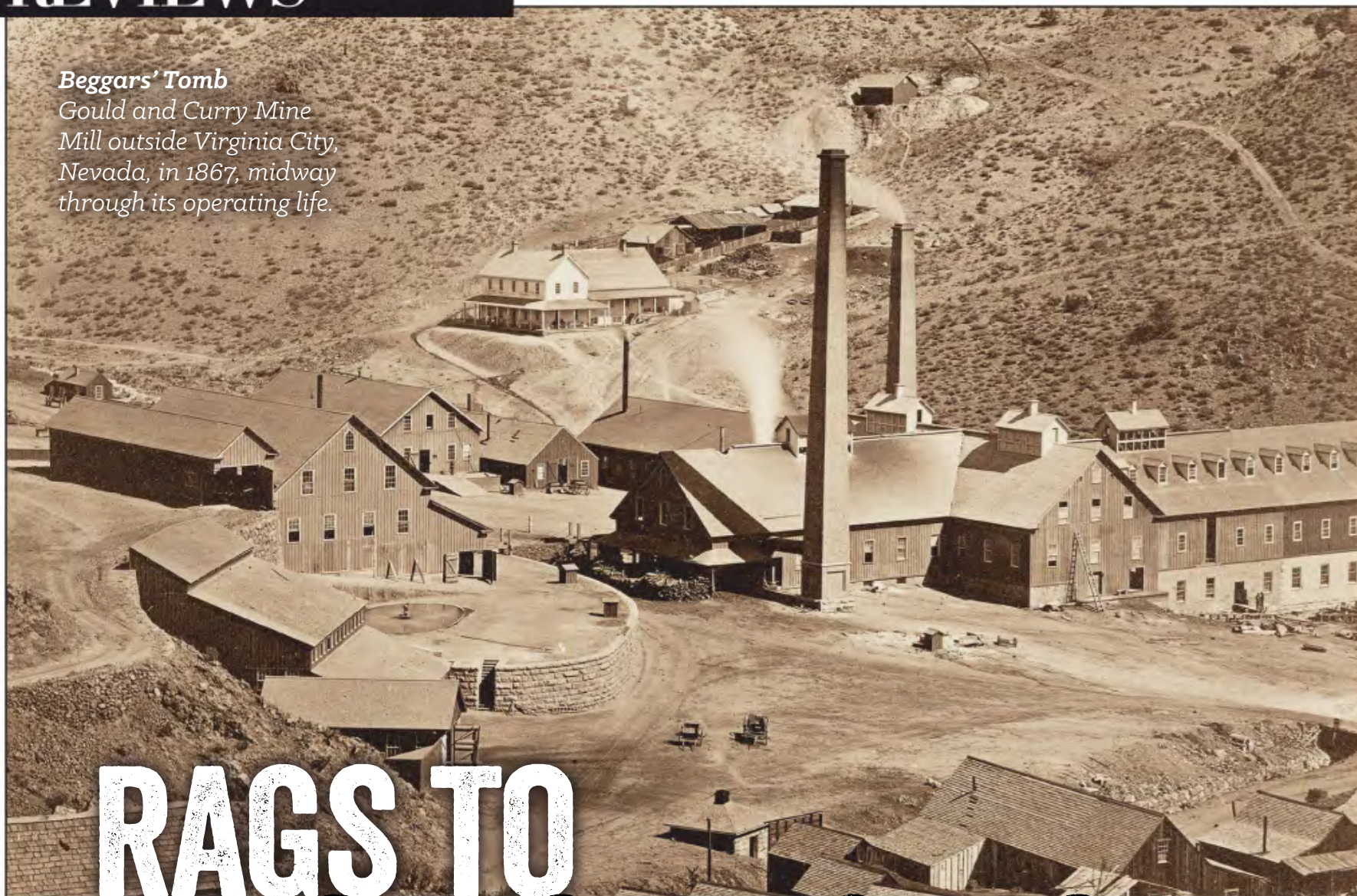
The American Revolution: A World War

Edited by David K. Allison & Larrie D. Ferriero
Smithsonian,
2018; \$29.95



Worldwide War
The 1782 siege of Gibraltar by French and Spanish forces refracted Britain's conflict in America.

Beggars' Tomb
Gould and Curry Mine
Mill outside Virginia City,
Nevada, in 1867, midway
through its operating life.



RAGS TO HONEST RICHES



The Bonanza King:
John Mackay and
the Battle Over the
Greatest Fortune in
the American West
Scribner, 2018; \$30

John William Mackay came from far less than humble beginnings. The son of penniless Catholics in Dublin, Ireland, he was nine when he sailed with his family to America in 1840. The Mackays joined thousands of immigrants crowding a squalid Lower Manhattan slum. On the inadequately-drained arteries of Five Points, feral pigs rooted amid human and animal waste, kitchen slops, ash, and the rotting remains of dead beasts. Fifty years later, now one of the world's richest men, Mackay would look out from his corporate office onto City Hall Square and Frankfort Street, scant blocks from where he lived as a child.

This titan of 19th century American industry enjoyed success to match that achieved by Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, Leland Stanford, and Collis Huntington. However, unlike those and other robber barons, Mackay kept his good name. Lacking any penances to perform, he established no reputation-scrubbing, publicity-generating philanthropies. Thus, time's passage erased an ascent that

Gregory Crouch (*China's Wings, Enduring Patagonia*) details, telling the story of a wealthy man who worked hard for his living.

Like many risk-takers of his day, Mackay headed West and made a fortune sifting Nevada dirt. In 1859, lacking money for a horse or mule, he hiked more than 100 miles from the California goldfields, arriving at a mining camp near what would be labeled the Comstock Lode. He hired on at \$4 per day as a common miner, and through determination and perspiration advanced to timberman, then gang boss, shift-leader, and foreman. With partners, Mackay gained control of the Consolidated Virginia Mining Company in 1872. That operation's 1873 discovery of a silver-and gold-laced vein of ore extending 1,200 feet underground made the owners rich and led the press and the public to nickname Mackay and partners the "Bonanza Kings."

In Crouch's brilliant telling, Mackay's life illustrates not only how mining technology evolved, but how the United States took

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modern form. The Comstock Lode powered San Francisco's growth into an economic powerhouse, fueling expansion. Beyond pursuing his interests in the bluish-black ore of Virginia City, Nevada, Mackay laid two transatlantic

telegraph cables and saw to the start of the first trans-Pacific cable. Crouch paints his subject in colorful light, blending facts and style in a gratifying and illuminating mix. —**Jessianne Castle writes in Clyde Park, Montana.**

KEEPING IT SEMI-REAL

Traditions can be personal—the way the family celebrates birthdays, say—and shared by the nation, such as saluting the flag or feasting on the fourth Thursday in November. All convey community and continuity. Of course, honesty demands acknowledgment that this link to the past is inexact and mutable. Every family Thanksgiving evolves as members join, folks move, and recipes graduate from experiment to keeper. So, too, with national traditions.

This topic fascinates historians and social anthropologists. In *Inventing American Tradition*, anthropologist Jack David Eller mines the resulting literature to retell the origin and evolution of 30-some traditions, a category he defines generously, from celebrating Mother's Day to using the word "OK" to wearing blue jeans. The result, informative and delightful, stirs thoughts about what we mean by "tradition" and what "tradition" means to us. As Eller argues, "Traditions are a story we tell ourselves about ourselves."

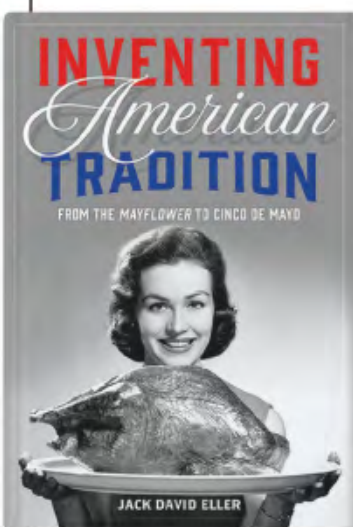
Since the earliest European settlers,

Americans have been ambivalent about tradition. "The early U.S. was overtly disinterested in, almost hostile to, traditions and the past in general," Eller explains.

This was supposed to be the land whose inhabitants, in the name of freedom, would cast off confining Old-World ways—traditions, if you will. That changed abruptly with Appomattox and the need to bind up a sun-drenched nation. "It was palpable that the country lacked and desperately needed tradition," Eller writes. Today's Memorial Day was established in 1868 to honor the Civil War dead on both sides. Washington's birthday was proclaimed a national holiday in 1879.

As the 19th century was turning into the 20th, the prevailing culture, encountering a need to assimilate waves of immigrants, created "patriotic" traditions such as the Pledge of Allegiance and adoption of the "Star-Spangled Banner" as the official anthem.

The United States was no longer a nation unshackling itself from tradition but one embracing and inventing tradition—a practice that continues. We pretend we are following historical paths, but, as Eller says, "Tradition is and always has been more about the present and the future than the past." —**Washington journalist Daniel B. Moskowitz always wears red on January 1 and green on March 17.**



Inventing American Tradition: From the Mayflower to Cinco de Mayo
by Jack David Eller
Reaktion Books;
Chicago Press,
2018; \$30

Remembering
In Ashland, Maine,
youngsters join in the
1943 edition of the
town's Memorial
Day parade.



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AN AMERICAN PLACE

Fort Niagara...

...at Youngstown, New York, between Rochester and Buffalo, dominates the mouth of the Niagara River. The limestone bastion and dependencies overlook Lake Ontario at the point where France first controlled access on that waterway to the American interior. Not the locale's first French edifice, the fort has proven the most durable. France, eager for otter, beaver, and deer pelts, obtained Iroquois Confederacy assent to a trading post in the 1600s and in 1726 built the fort. French officials swore the compound, which included a powder magazine, a bakehouse, and well, was a "house of peace." However, the enclosing palisade's martial air offended local Seneca. Between the Seven Years' War and the War of 1812, the parcel was a shuttlecock. The British captured the place in 1759, holding the fort until the 1790s, when ownership went to the United States. In 1813, British troops shelled their way back into possession. Two years later, the Treaty of Ghent returned American hegemony. During WWI troops trained in mock trenches still in place. In the 1930s, the Old Fort Niagara Preservation Association restored the buildings, which during WWII housed German POWs. Now, with the state, the association runs the 250-acre expanse as a historical site—bit.ly/FortNiagaraPark. —Sarah Richardson



Holding the Fort

In sunlight or by moonlight, Fort Niagara dominates the east bank of the river of the same name as it enters Lake Ontario, as its builders intended.



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2019 Special Events

HISTORIC COLLINSVILLE may be the best-kept secret in Tennessee – even though it's been open to the public for 20 years.

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The Cherokee, Chickasaw, Creek, Iroquois and Shawnee Indians once roamed these hills bordered by the Cumberland River. Later, the soldiers of the North and South met nearby. Today, Collinsville visitors can learn more about all of the land's inhabitants.

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AUGUST 23

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Tennessee
Craft Week

OCTOBER 19

Celebration
of the Arts

OCTOBER 26

Fall Pilgrimage

DECEMBER 14

Candlelight
Christmas Tour

Historic Collinsville is open to the public for self-guided tours April 20–October 26, 2019, Saturdays and Sundays, or other times by appointment for groups of 6 or more. Regular admission is \$7, children under five are admitted free when accompanied by a paying adult. Special event admission varies.



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